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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
FRANCE,

From PHARAMOND to CHARLES IX.

Translated from the FRENCH of  
M. BOSSUET,  
Bishop of MEAUX.

VOLUME III.

Containing the reigns of LOUIS XII. and  
FRANCIS I.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by A. DONALDSON and J. REED.

For ALEXANDER DONALDSON.

MDCCLXII.

THE  
HISTORICAL

FRANCIS

FROM FRANKFURT TO CHAMBERS

Printed by

M. H. O. F. T.



VOLUME

Containing the History of France from 1789 to 1815  
FRANCIS

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For Alexander Donaldson.

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# HISTORY

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# FRANCE.

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## BOOK XIV.

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### LOUIS XII.

**I**T might have been imagined, that Louis,  
on his accession to the crown, would  
have shown some resentment against  
many ministers who had used him ill in  
the preceding reign; but he reckoned those  
private revenges unbecoming royalty; and  
this memorable saying is ascribed to him,  
That it belonged not to the king of France to  
avenge the quarrels of the duke of Orleans:  
so without distinction he immediately declar-  
ed that he would continue all the officers in  
their employments as well at court, as in the  
armies and in the judicatories.

This prince immediately conceived the de-  
sign of recovering the duchy of Milan from



Ludovic, who had doubly usurped it; but, before undertaking this war, he resolved to regulate the interior of his kingdom. He considerably lowered the taxes with which the people were loaded, and would have lowered them more, but for the great wars that he had to support; but it is remarkable, that, notwithstanding the expenses which they occasioned to him, his oeconomy was so great, that he never increased the people's burdens.

For that purpose he redeemed and took care to improve his demesnes, which his predecessors had neglected, depending chiefly for all their expenses on the subsidies\* and extraordinary taxes. He put a stop to the disorders of the military, who in the two last reigns infested all France, and, in one night's stay on a march, cost a parish more than the subsidies of a whole year. Louis, moved with the distresses of his people, and considering likewise that the kingdom was ruined by those disorders, removed them by causing the troops to be punctually paid, and keeping them always under strict discipline.

He also regulated the coins, for the good and bad were without distinction then current in the kingdom: he redressed that abuse, and restored honesty in commerce. In order to reform the courts of judicature, he chose

\* *Tailles*, which is here translated subsidies, are of two sorts, *taille réelle*, or land-tax, and *taille personnelle*, or poll-tax.

the wisest and most experienced persons of his parliament: by their advice he made, for the shortening of law-suits, salutary regulations, which the knavery of chicaners has rendered useless; but Louis neglected nothing in order to reap from it all the profit that he had expected; and for that purpose, he resolved to give the employments in the judicatories to persons of the greatest merit, which he constantly practised during his whole reign. After thus settling matters, he turned all his thoughts against Ladovic.

The situation of affairs in Italy favoured his designs. The Florentines were at war in order to get back their places, which the Venetians and the duke of Milan were endeavouring to invade, and especially the city of Pisa: by this means the Venetians were disposed to join Louis. As to the pope, he wished for nothing according to his usual, but disputes, of which he expected to take advantage to raise his son, for whom he wanted to make a principality out of all those of Romania, under pretext of reuniting them to the holy see, from which they had been dismembered. He sowed discord among the lords of those countries; and making a show of reconciling them, he continued their quarrels.

Besides, he pursued the negotiations in France, and kept fair with Louis, in order to get from him Charlotte, Frederic's daughter, whom her father continued to refuse for

Cardinal Valentine. He had a fine method of obliging the king, who was desirous of dissolving his marriage with Jane, daughter of Louis XI. whom that violent prince had forced him to marry, as soon as he was fourteen years of age, and who was reckoned incapable of having children.

He designed to marry Anne widow of his predecessor, whom he had formerly loved, and who brought him Brittany: for that purpose he wanted a dispensation from the holy see. The pope, resolved to satisfy him, sent Cardinal Valentine to carry him the bull, in which he gave him three commissaries such as he desired in the affair of his marriage. He carried also a cardinal's hat to George d'Amboise, whom the king highly esteemed, and who had been his preceptor.

The marriage was declared null, and Louis gave Berri to Jane, for her retreat, with a pension suitable to her rank. She was ugly and deformed, but of uncommon virtue. Far from seeming grieved at her removal, she expressed her satisfaction at it, and passed her life in great sanctity.

The king promised Cardinal Valentine Frederic's daughter, and gave him the Valentinois, erected into a duchy, whence he took the title of duke de Valentinois. He then began to declare his ambitious thoughts. He was called Cardinal Valentine, on account of the archbishopric of Valentia in Spain, which he possessed. He afterward took the  
name



name of Cæsar, and caused put upon his standard this ambitious motto, *Either Cæsar or nothing*. Louis by a treaty engaged to furnish the pope, after the conquest of the Milanese, as many men as he wanted for subduing Romania. The marriage was not completed, because the princess was obstinately resolved against it, unless Louis made peace on the conditions which her father proposed; and the king gave the duke another Charlotte, daughter of Allan, lord of Albret.

The Florentines pressed by the Venetians, had recourse to the king; but as he gave them nothing but promises, they threw themselves into the arms of Ludovic. He gained some advantages over the Venetians, which obliged them to make a league with the king, by which he was to have all on this side the Adda, and they all beyond. The treaty was so secretly transacted, that Ludovic got no accounts of it till long after, and the pope himself, though an ally of the French, knew nothing of the matter.

At the eve of a great war, Louis above all things agreed with his neighbours, and first with the king of England. He continued the truce with Ferdinand and Isabella, who drew their troops out of Italy, and restored to Frederic the places which they had in his kingdom. Louis likewise restored to the archduke Philip the places in Artois, according to the treaty made with Charles VIII. and sent to Arras Gui de Rochefort his chan-

cellor, who received in his name, sealed and covered, the homage for the counties of Flanders, of Artois, and of Charolois, which the archduke paid him uncovered and without a girdle. The archduke wanted several times to kneel down; but the chancellor holding the archduke's hands in his, told him that his good will was sufficient.

Louis, in order to be at peace on all sides, made a truce with Maximilian, who for his part was busied in a war against the Swiss. This truce determined him to begin the expedition against Milan a year sooner than he had resolved. He sent an army of 23,000 or 24,000 men, commanded by Trivulce, the count de Ligni, and Aubigni. They immediately took the fortrefs of Arazzo, on the Tanaro, and that of Anon.

Galeas de Saint Severin, whom the duke had sent to obstruct their passage, surpris'd at the taking of those places, more speedily than he imagined, retired to Alexandria, where our people pursued him; and in the mean time Valentia on the Po, with its castle, were surrendered to them, by the governor: several considerable places followed that example, Alexandria, abandoned by the count de Cajazzo, whom the duke had sent to assist St Severin his brother, was taken and plundered. The count, provoked that Ludovic had given the chief command to his younger brother, had made up matters with the king.

The French having passed the Po, Pavia submitted

submitted to them, while the Venetians on their side passing the Adda, extended as far as Lodi. On the report of so rapid a conquest, terror and confusion seized Milan, and the duke himself, frightened at so many unexpected losses, had recourse to the last remedies of the desperate. He began to flatter the people, by diminishing the taxes, and excusing himself for having imposed them, from the necessary expense of the wars. He however clearly perceived that he should not have the management of the people, and retired to Maximilian, with his children and his treasures. The count de Cajazzo came and declared to him in his way, that since he abandoned his dominions, he thought himself freed from the service he owed him, and at the same time espoused the French party.

As soon as the duke had retired, the inhabitants of Milan called the French, and, upon their hopes in the king's clemency, they surrendered without capitulating. Eight days after, the castle, though provided in every thing, surrendered without firing a gun. The governor who delivered it did not long enjoy his reward, because his treachery having rendered him odious to every body, and despicable even to the French themselves, he died of grief some time after.

The Fregosi and Adorni strove who should first persuade Genoa to submit. At last all the duke of Milan's places were reduced, and



and their conquest was completed in less than a month. Mean time the king was at Lyons, finishing his marriage. As soon as he received that intelligence, he entered with the ducal habit into Milan; where he received the compliments of all the potentates of Italy except of Frederic; and as from that time he meditated the conquest of Naples, the Florentines engaged to assist him, on condition that he should assist them in recovering their towns; which they could not accomplish, especially Pisa, of which they had been obliged to raise the siege.

The duke of Valentinois, with the assistance of the French, immediately took Imola, and was in hopes of soon reducing the other towns of Romania, which had particular lords. The king wanted to show the Milanese, that they were not mistaken in the opinion they had of his good nature. He relieved the people of the greatest part of their taxes, and took pleasure in obliging the nobility, who were harshly enough used by Ludovic. By these means he gained hearts, and was established in his new conquest.

But Trivulce whom he left for governor, on his return thence, did not pursue the same method; he was proud and haughty, and the gentlemen could not endure to be arrogantly treated by a person whom they had seen their equal. He had many enemies, because envy is always greater against a man of the country who is seen suddenly raised. The Milanese, besides,

besides, were irritated at the great familiarity which the French wanted to have with their wives.

Their tempers being opposite, a sedition happened on account of the few taxes which Louis had left subsisting, and Trivulce already odious rendered himself more so, by killing with his own hand some of the rioters.

Immediately the duke of Milan, who was upon the watch, came with all speed with an army of Germans and Swiss, whom he had raised at his own expense, for he had no assistance from Maximilian. Como surrendered to him, and at the same time the inhabitants of Milan rebelled. Trivulce had but few men, because the flower of the troops had been given to the duke de Valentinois. And indeed, after providing for the security of the castle, he left the town, into which Ludovic was received by the people with loud acclamations.

He then marched, and laid siege to Novara, to cut off provisions from Trivulce, who was below Mortara. D'Alegre brought to his assistance the troops that were in Romania; but the Swiss in his army joined those in Ludovic's army, who with that reinforcement easily took Novara. The king, resolved to punish the revolt of the Milanese, sent Trimouille with an army, and ordered to advance as far as Ast, Cardinal d'Amboise, to whom he gave the title of his lieutenant-general, with full power; that, having superior

rior authority, he might prevent the divisions between our generals, which had partly occasioned the loss of the Milanese.

La Trimouille marched immediately to besiege Novara, where Ludovic's Swiss were guilty of the same treachery as those of D'Alegre had been to him. Their countrymen who were in our army enticed them away, and Ludovic perceiving among them some beginnings of a mutiny, wanted to lead them on to battle, but in vain; they told him they would not fight against their fellow-subjects.

The duke perceiving every thing desperate, begged them with tears to be so good as at least to carry him to a place of safety. All that he could obtain from them, was to disguise himself, and make his escape as he could; but he was not able so well to conceal himself as not to be soon discovered and taken. He was carried to Lyons to the king, who had wanted only to see him. He sent him to Loches, where he died ten years after, very ill used. Such was the end of a prince who had lived in so great power and grandeur. He might have acquired a great character, had he not tarnished it by the murder of his nephew. His chief quality was great prudence; but he had the weakness not to be able to endure that any person but himself should be reckoned prudent.

Cardinal Ascano, his bother, fled as soon as he heard of Ludovic's misfortune. He was taken by the Venetians; and the king having



having obliged them to deliver him up to him, he was put in the tower of Bourges, where the king himself had been long detained when he was duke of Orleans; but the cardinal was far better used than his brother, and liberated two years after by the interest of Cardinal d'Amboise, at the emperor's solicitation. Immediately after the duke was taken, the Milanese petitioned for the king's mercy.

Cardinal d'Amboise, after having caused some of the most seditious to be punished, pardoned the rest of the Milanese; but, however, fined them in three hundred thousand ducats, rather to give them a sense of their crime, than to punish them according to their deserts. The other rebel-towns were taxed in proportion, and the government of the whole duchy given to Chaumont, a man of merit, the nephew of Cardinal d'Amboise.

Upon the completion of the conquest, the Swiss were dismissed; the cantons bordering upon the Milanese surprised, in their march homeward, Bellinzone, a place of importance in the mountains, which gave them an entry into that duchy. The king neglected to recover it for a little money, which it would have cost him at that time, and that parsimony afterward stood him very dear. The investiture of the duchy was still to be obtained by the king from the emperor. Instead of granting it, that prince called the king and the Venetians

Venetians usurpers of the rights of the empire.

The king, being therefore afraid of some great war on that side, durst not attempt that of Naples, which he had resolved, and found himself obliged, according to treaties, to divide his army. He gave a part of it to the duke de Valentinois, for finishing the conquest of Romania, which he entirely subdued, except Faenza, which the resistance of the besieged and the bad weather prevented from being taken. At last, however, he reduced it to a surrender, but not till the year following.

He had been very unwilling to give his troops to the Pope, on account of the small assistance that he had got from him, during the affairs of Milan. Nevertheless, persuaded by Cardinal d'Amboise, who was always in the pope's interest, he consented to that measure; and the pope, to recompense the cardinal, made him his legate *a latere*, in all France. Louis gave the rest of the troops to the Florentines, though the Pisans and the Siennese offered him a great sum of money to divert him from it; but the cardinal acquainted him how scandalous it would be not to keep the treaties. Pisa was besieged with very bad success, which the French generals imputed to the Florentines, which cooled the king's zeal for that republic.

That prince had always in his thoughts the design upon Naples, and he used all his endeavours

deavours to come to an accommodation with Maximilian, he was never able to obtain the investiture of it, but he made a truce in which Frederic, king of Naples, was not included. He had still another enemy to dread in the conquest of that kingdom, Ferdinand king of Spain, who, as we have said, had entered into a treaty to divide it with Charles VIII.

Though Louis was in a condition to finish the enterprize of himself, that he might not have such an enemy in his way, and might speedily dispatch the affair during the truce, he chose rather to continue the treaty which Ferdinand had begun with his predecessor; and reserving Naples with the territory of Labour and Abruzzo, he gave up to him Apulia and Calabria, which lay near to his kingdom of Sicily. The two kings, by the treaty, were neither to assist nor do harm to each other; but Louis carried on the war quite openly, and Ferdinand acted perfidiously; for concealing his treaty, while he was dividing the kingdom of his kinsman, he made a show of protecting him against the French. He sent into Sicily Gonsalvo, who, under that pretext, caused some places to be given him as a security.

Frederic acted so fairly, that he pressed him to enter Gaeta; but as that place was part of what belonged to the French, he refused it. Louis at the same time brought up his fleet, commanded by Philip de Cleves-Ravestein, and his land-army under the command of



Aubigni, the Count de Cajazzo, and the duke de Valentinois.

Aubigni, who had all the trust, besieged Capua, which he carried in eight days. Gaeta in a terror surrendered. Naples made no defence, and Gonsalvo having declared himself, Frederic who perceived himself ruined on all sides, and betrayed by his predecessor, had no longer any hopes but in Louis's generosity. He delivered to the French the castle of Naples, with their share. The Ursini, always faithful to France, were powerfully protected; and the Colonna who had abandoned it, were themselves abandoned to the pope. Frederic had liberty to retire to Ischia, where he made a new treaty, by which the victorious king granted him the duchy of Anjou, with thirty thousand ducats of pension, in exchange for his kingdom.

About the same time Louis count de Montpensier, visiting the place where his father was interred, had so lively an impression of what he had suffered in that country, that he expired of grief on his tomb, and himself caused a regret among all the French, of the death which his affectionate temper had occasioned. Gonsalvo easily took the places in Apulia and Calabria, and found almost no resistance but at Tarentum, whither Frederic had sent his son Alphonso. That place at last surrendered upon terms; and Gonsalvo, contrary to the oath which he had given on the eucharist to the young prince, to have him

him conducted where he pleased, retained him to be sent into Spain, where Ferdinand's magnificent treatment of Alphonso was but a thin cloak for his treachery to that young prince.

After the conquest of Naples, they marched against the Turks, whom Ludovic and Frederic had in vain called to their assistance. These infidels had made a troublesome irruption into Frioul, and taken some places from the Venetians in Peloponnesus. It was resolved that vengeance should be taken of these insults; but Ferdinand would never give his ships, though he had entered into the league. The French and Venetians had besieged Metelin, the capital of the isle of Lesbos. Their misunderstandings were the cause of their bad success; and the French, shattered in their return by a storm, met, in the ports of the Venetians, a treatment as rough as that which they had experienced from the Turks. In the mean time the negotiation with Maximilian had always been continued, in order to put a period to which, Cardinal d'Amboise with a magnificent equipage went to wait upon him at Trent.

They could not agree about the affair of the investiture, because Maximilian would never grant it to the king's heirs-male, if he had any, but only to the daughters which he had already. The family of Austria seemed to have laid the plan of aggrandising themselves by marriages. Maximilian's great

power had been acquired by marrying the heiress of Burgundy, who had brought him so extensive territories. He had caused his son the archduke Philip to marry Jane, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and heiress of their kingdoms; he wanted still to have Claude, the king's daughter, for Charles his grandson, and son of Philip, whose marriage had already been resolved with that young princess. So he wanted only to grant to Louis's daughters the investiture of the duchy, that it might again fall into his own family. The king would not accept it on these terms, and the cardinal retired without doing any thing. There was mention in those conferences about making war against the Venetians, whose ambition was offensive to the two princes, and of reforming the church, chiefly in its head, who disturbed Italy, and scandalized the whole church.

Besides the quarrel which the king had with the emperor, another happened to him of far greater importance with the king of Spain. That prince had an intention to make himself master of the whole kingdom of Naples, rather by surprise than by force. He had a fine instrument of his designs in Gonsalvo, as artful a man as he was a great general. He started a difficulty in the division of the territories, pretending, that a district, called the Capitanate, was in Apulia, rather than in Abruzzo, as the French pretended. That country was valuable, both on  
account



account of a toll of great income, which was there established for cattle, and because in Abruzzo there was none but that place which produced grain.

The very situation gained the cause to the French, since the disputed country was contiguous to Abruzzo, and was separated from Apulia by the river of Ofanto. Mean time the viceroy, Louis d'Armagnac, duke de Nemours, and Gonfalvo, agreed to wait their masters decision. The king had advanced to Ast, to repress the duke de Valentinois, who supported by the power of his father, and by the arms of France, encroached upon all his neighbours, and vexed all Italy with his perfidy and cruelty, in order to satisfy his own ambition. He had even underhand made some places to rebel against the Florentines, the king's allies. The governor of Milan had acquainted Louis, that that duchy in the sequel could not be safe, if he did not restrain so enterprising a man. And indeed he had declared, on his leaving France, that he was going to make war against Alexander VI. and that a war against so mischievous a pope was more a holy war than one against the Turk.

But the duke de Valentinois, who was no less artful than mischievous, found means to appease him. He was assisted by Cardinal d'Amboise, always too much inclined to favour the pope, with an intention to procure from him the favours which might advance

him to the papacy, at which he aimed. As to affairs with Ferdinand, Louis offered, in order to terminate them, either to restore Frederic, with whom probably he had taken measures, or to conclude a truce, during which the difference about their limits might be amicably ended.

Ferdinand, who intended only to gain time to amuse and over-reach him, made no answer; but Louis ordered his troops to march against the Spaniards. They lost most of their places, and Gonsalvo, in want of every thing, retired into Barletta, where, but for the secret assistance of the Venetians, he had been entirely ruined, with all their succour. If Aubigni's advice had been followed, the war had been finished.

The duke de Nemours chose rather to divide his army, and take the other towns, instead of abiding close by Barletta; on which the decision depended; which gave Gonsalvo leisure to recover himself. Mean-time, the king, relying on the truce which he had concluded with the emperor, and thinking his affairs well secured, resolved to return to France. He too soon abandoned a conquest, still but ill enough secured, and trusted too much in Maximilian, on whom there was no reliance.

When he set out, he left some troops to the duke de Valentinois, and by protecting him exposed himself to the ill-will which his behaviour merited. Before he repassed the mountains,

mountains, the Genoese having invited him to come into their city, he made his entry with a great retinue, and staid there ten days. Mean-time the viceroy was acting in Apulia, and Aubigni in Calabria, where he took Cosenza, and gained near that town a signal victory over the Spaniards. Ferdinand, in concern, contrived some methods to amuse Louis, and to stop his progress.

About the same time the archduke, who had passed from Flanders into Spain through France, was to return the same road. Ferdinand gave him full powers to treat of a peace, and sent with him two ambassadors to be his council. On the prince's arrival at Louis's court at Lyons, he concluded an accommodation on these terms : That Charles the archduke's son should marry Claude, the king's eldest daughter, who was to have in portion the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan ; that till the marriage could be completed, the two kings should enjoy their shares ; and that the archduke should have the administration of his father-in-law's share which was to fall to Charles ; that the affair of the limits should be amicably treated ; and that in the mean time the disputed countries should be sequestered in the hands of the same archduke.

These articles being agreed and signed, both by the archduke and the ambassadors, dispatches were at the same time sent to Ferdinand for his ratification, and to the



the two generals, that by the orders of their respective princes they might supersede hostilities. The duke de Nemours obeyed without hesitation; but the case was not the same with Gonsalvo; he had got some reinforcement from Spain, and Maximilian, contrary to the treaty, had sent him two thousand succours, which the Venetians, as faithless as himself, had allowed to pass their gulf. He perceived the pope and that republic alienated from the French. He likewise foresaw that our people would grow remiss, depending upon the peace; and already four thousand men, who had lately arrived from France, had deserted, because the commissaries, who thought that thenceforward there would be no more need of soldiers, had neglected to pay them. Gonsalvo, who was resolved to profit of that opportunity, and who besides perceived the affairs of Spain in a better condition, answered to Philip's orders, that he did not acknowledge them, and received none but from his master, whether he had secretly agreed on this with Ferdinand, or that he knew him of a disposition not to disapprove of a trick which should be attended with success.

The viceroy perceiving, contrary to his expectation, Gonsalvo resolved to carry on the war, recalled in all haste the troops dispersed over all the kingdom; but they were too weak against a man who had taken all the measures necessary for surprising them.

The

The king immediately perceived the alteration which would happen in affairs, and in order to prevent it, sent his generals orders to protract matters, and to keep only on the defensive, till he should send them succours. But Aubigni, thinking he was able to prevent the Spaniards from passing a river three miles from Seminara, was surpris'd ; for while their vanguard amused him on the opposite side of the river, their rear passed at another place, and took our army in flank, which, when this was perceived, immediately took to flight. Aubigni retired to Angitone, at the same time that Gonsalvo, pressed by pestilence and famine, was leaving Barletta.

The viceroy fearing that he might join the victorious army, resolved to intercept them on their march ; and as the Spaniards were making toward Cerignole, he followed them thither, but Gonsalvo arrived there first, and entrenched himself. The viceroy arriving a short time after, immediately attacked the entrenchment. The Spaniards had much ado to sustain the first onset, and were immediately put in confusion ; but, toward night, their horse put our infantry in disorder. The viceroy was killed, the enemy took courage again, and our men were seized with a panic, and fled. There were few men killed, and the French lost all their baggage. These two defeats immediately on the back of each other, ruined the affairs of France. The Neapolitans having revolted, called Gonsalvo.

The

The French shut themselves up in the castles of Naples. Averso and Capua opened their gates, and Aubigni besieged in Angitone, surrendered prisoner of war. Mean time Yves d'Alegre threw into Gaeta, what he could pick up of the routed stragglers of our armies.

The archduke after the convention had made a tour into Savoy; and being informed of Gonsalvo's behaviour, he returned without hesitation to France, where he was very much embarrassed; for Ferdinand was continuing to amuse Louis, and would not declare himself on Gonsalvo's proceedings, till his son-in-law wrote him at last that he was resolved not to leave France, till he had explained himself. Then he answered distinctly, that he could not accept the peace, and disavowed the archduke, who had, said he, exceeded his powers. Upon this declaration the archduke complained loudly of his father-in-law, who had broke his faith. He showed, that far from doing any thing contrary to his orders, he had so exactly followed them, that even the ambassadors whom Ferdinand had intrusted with the affair, had signed along with him. Louis had a great soul, and being incapable of treachery, easily believed that Philip had sentiments like his own.

So the king perceiving the archduke in terror of being blamed for Ferdinand's infidelity, his majesty assured him that he had nothing to fear, that his royal word was passed, and that Ferdinand's infidelity should never



never oblige him to be guilty of another. Besides that he chose rather to lose by that fallacy a kingdom which he could easily reconquer, than to expose himself, by violating his fidelity, to irreparable reproach. Louis was in the right to despise conquests obtained by a piece of perfidy, but he was not excusable for suffering himself to be so easily over-reached.

As for Ferdinand, whose artifices had been so successful, he dreamed of nothing but continuing them; so he caused various proposals to be made, among the rest the restoration of Frederic to his kingdom. The thing was no longer practicable, after the treaty concluded between Louis and Philip; but Ferdinand proposed it in order to raise a variance between those two princes. The king being offended would hear no more, and dismissed the ambassadors.

Mean time Gonsalvo besieged the new castle, which he took by working a mine charged with powder, which Peter de Navarre sprung. He was a soldier of fortune, who had assumed that name, because he was of the kingdom of Navarre. He had seen some beginnings of the invention of mines in a siege of the Genoese, but he had improved it, and the French who guarded the castle of Naples, were the first who felt its effect. The new castle was taken by the breach, and the soldiers were all made prisoners of war.

After

After taking the new castle, Gonsalvo sent Prosper Colonna into Abruzzo, left Peter de Navarre to take the castle of the Egg, and went in person to besiege Gaeta by sea and land. Peter finished his enterprise in three weeks, by mines, to which the French were not as yet accustomed. A few days after the castle was taken, the marquis de Saluces, the new viceroy, appeared with the succours which the king had been able to send in all haste. He was preparing greater things, and had resolved to use his utmost efforts to cause his power to be felt by the king of Spain, who had derided him. Not satisfied with sending a powerful land-army into the kingdom of Naples, under the command of Trimouille, he resolved to attack Spain in two places.

Albret, king of Navarre, and the marshal de Gié, were to enter by Guienne; and the marshal de Rieux, by Roussillon; a fleet was to cruise in the seas of that province, and of the kingdom of Valentia; but it is not so easy to regain a kingdom, as to lose it. The marquis de Saluces, with his fleet, indeed obliged Gonsalvo to clear the port of Gaeta, but not entirely to set at liberty the place; which he kept as closely as he could blocked up at land. Trimouille was very much embarrassed. On leaving the duchy of Milan, the Swiss who were to furnish eight thousand men, perceiving our affairs in bad condition, delayed from day to day.

The pope and the duke de Valentinois had

had followed fortune, and some of their letters had been intercepted, by which they seemed to be in a close correspondence with Gonsalvo. La Trimouille durst not proceed farther without being secure of them, and the pope amused him with proposals after proposals; but all that negotiation was terminated by his death, which happened in a manner entirely tragical, and suitable to the deserts of so wicked a man. He had together with his son laid a plot for poisoning Cardinal Adrian Cornet, who was very rich, in order to take possession of his treasures. For that purpose he prepared, in a villa near Rome, an entertainment to which he invited several cardinals, and the prime nobility of Rome.

The duke de Valentinois sent thither two poisoned bottles, with orders to give none of them but by his express command. The pope coming first, very much overheated, asked some drink: the butler was persuaded, that the bottles given him in keeping were some excellent wine, and supposing that the prohibition was not intended against the pope, gave him some of it: as he was finishing his draught, the duke arrived, and drank of it likewise: they both drank the poison; but the pope who was very old died of it a short time after, and the duke, being young and vigorous, was saved by the power of medicines.

On the news of the pope's death, La Trimouille caused the army advance to the gates



of Rome, whither he could not go himself, because he was sick at Parma. By the help of those troops, Cardinal d'Amboise thought he might easily get himself made pope; but the cardinal de St Pierre-aux-liens, who like him aspired to the papacy, advised him to remove the soldiers, telling him, that, by retaining them, he put an obstacle to his own election; that though he should get himself elected by force, an election so obtained would be more scandalous than honourable for him, and would not be acknowledged by the greater part of Christendom; so that he needed only send off the troops, and at the same time he should be unanimously elected, without drawing upon himself the reproach of having violated the liberty of the college. Cardinal d'Amboise trusted that counsel, and the Cardinal de St Pierre soon after got him excluded.

The cardinals esteemed the Cardinal de St Pierre; he was rich and liberal, and had the character of a man of courage, and who kept his word; but as his party was not as yet formed in the conclave, he got an old cardinal elected, who probably would soon leave the papacy vacant. This was Francis Piccolomini, who took the name of Pius III. He held the chair only twenty-six days; and the Cardinal de St Pierre, who had the votes of all the college, was unanimously elected the very evening they entered the conclave. The ambition and simplicity of  
Cardinal

Cardinal d'Amboise were the derision of all Europe: but the king was not sufficiently sensible how improperly his authority had been exposed on that occasion, in which measures were so ill concerted.

The duke de Valentinois had concurred in the election of Julius II. (this is the name which the pope took), because he had promised to get recovered for him the places in Romania. For immediately after the death of Alexander VI. the lords had regained some, and the Venetians had invaded others of them; but Julius instead, of aiding him to recover them, had him seized, in order to draw from him a cession of those he still had remaining.

The governors paid little regard to the orders of their master, because he was a prisoner. The pope made a shew of releasing him, and sent him to Ostia. The places were surrendered to Julius. The duke obtained his liberty only by escaping from his keepers, and taking refuge with Gonsalvo, who sent him a passport; but caused him to be seized, notwithstanding his promise, and sent him prisoner to Spain; whence he escaped again, and taking refuge in Navarre, he was killed in a battle, commanding some troops of the king of Navarre, who were fighting to subdue some rebels, who had revolted against that prince.

Mean-time the French army had made some progress during Trimouille's illness.

The king had given the command of it to the marquis of Mantua, a foreigner, an Italian, and an irreconciled enemy, who for those reasons was to be suspected. On the report of his march, Gonsalvo abandoned the neighbourhood of Gaeta, and left that place free. The marquis made a bridge over the Gariglian, and, by the help of his own artillery, passed that river in sight of Gonsalvo, who had boasted of hindering him: but that very day he lost the confidence of the French, for having, as they said, spared the enemy whom he had it in his power to defeat; and it happened some time after that he left the army, and enticed away the Italians who inlisted in the enemy's troops. The marquis de Saluces, the viceroy, took the command of the army; and Gonsalvo, to prevent him from entering farther into the kingdom, took post in the marshes, formerly called the marshes of Minturno. He kept there the French army, where it was destroyed by the incommodiousness of the place, the rigour of the winter, and the roguery of the commissaries who detained the soldiers pay. Gonsalvo on his side suffered much; and when he was advised to retire, he uttered this fine saying, that he chose rather to die advancing one pace against the enemy, than to prolong his life a hundred years, falling back only a fathom. Thus he ruined the French, not being in a condition to force them: but he took a shorter road, when he  
was



was reinforced by the junction of Urfin, who from the time of Alexander VI. had left the French party, being disgusted by the protection which Louis gave to the duke de Valentinois his enemy, who was so unworthy of it.

Gonsalvo, attacking the French with that succour, terror and confusion seized them. The viceroy was obliged to retire to Gaeta; and his retreat was so precipitate, that he left the enemy a part of his artillery. Peter de Medicis, after being long the sport of fortune, perished at last on that occasion, in a boat which sunk by being overloaded.

Gonsalvo, without loss of time, went and laid siege to Gaeta, which was by famine forced to surrender. The viceroy had made it a condition, that the prisoners should be set at liberty; but Gonsalvo, fruitful in expedients for eluding treaties, excluded from the capitulation the Neapolitan barons, who had served the king: he easily finished the exclusion of the French from the kingdom, and taking the few places still in their possession. Matters succeeded no better in Spain. In Guienne a difference happening between Albret and Gié, they in vain sat down before Fontarabia, and returned without doing any thing. In Roussillon the marshal de Rieux besieged Salses; but, after an attack of forty days, Ferdinand, coming up in person with 30,000 men, made him raise the siege. These melancholy accounts excessively afflicted all France, because they loved their king; for

C 3

otherwise

otherwise the people were extremely happy at home.

Amidst so many wars, the king managed his finances so well, that he never increased the taxes; the military were guilty of no irregularities, commerce was secure, plenteous and diffusive, every body lived at their ease, and the king was called the father of his country; which is the best character a king can have, provided it be not bestowed by flattery. He had great care for justice, and wanted that the magistrates who were intrusted with its administration, should not only have the knowledge, but also the gravity becoming so great a charge. It is observed, that going one day into a tennis-court, he there found some counsellors, or ordinary judges of the parliament, playing; and as that exercise then appeared more proper for gentlemen of the army, than for those of their robe, he told them, that if he found them there again, he would give them places in his guards.

Though domestic affairs were in so good a condition, and the king had acquired much renown in governing his kingdom so well, it was a great stain on his reputation, to allow so many armies to be destroyed, and so many conquests to be lost: he then perceived what it was to allow himself to be governed, and resolved to act by himself; or though there be an able and well disposed minister, matters always succeed ill, when the prince refers them

to others. Louis had depended on his former fame, and on the conquests that he had made in the beginning of his reign, and did not consider that it signifies nothing to acquire if one does not preserve.

When the misfortune happened, he was so grieved at it, that he fell dangerously ill; so that Anne his wife, despairing of his life, was contriving her retreat into Brittany, and being ready to set out, she sent her equipage thither beforehand. From the settlement of her marriage with Maximilian, she had always preserved a strong attachment to the princes of Austria, and had formed in favour of them designs contrary to the interests of France; wherefore the marshal de Gié resolved to seize her domestics on their journey. The queen, provoked that a man born her subject should oppose her designs, would never pardon him, and so persecuted the king, that he had the weakness to order the marshal to be tried, notwithstanding the zeal which he had shown for the welfare of the state; but the parliament of Toulouse, to which he was referred, notwithstanding all its rigour, found no cause for a higher sentence, than that of retiring from court.

After Louis's recovery, conferences were held for treating of a peace between him and Ferdinand. A truce had been made by the mediation of Frederic, whom Ferdinand always flattered with the hopes of restoring him to his kingdom, and in fact he put his restoration



restoration first among the proposals which he made to the king: but Louis perceiving that he did so only to embroil him with the archduke, quite broke off the treaty with him, and made a peace with the emperor; and by that peace were renewed the terms of the first treaty of the marriage of Charles with Claude, the king's eldest daughter, and if she happened to die, Renée her younger sister was given to him on the same conditions. The emperor at last consented to give to Louis and his children, even the males, if he had any, the investiture of the duchy of Milan for sixty thousand ducats, ready money, and sixty thousand more, payable six months after.

The king was besides to furnish 500 lances to the emperor at his coronation, and give him every year as an acknowledgment a pair of golden spurs. The king of Spain was allowed to accept the peace within a certain time; but in case he refused, it was not specified whether the king might make war against him.

About this time happened the death of Frederic, and, what is more considerable, that of Isabella queen of Castille. That kingdom returned to the archduke Philip, in right of his wife, as heiress of her mother, and Ferdinand was reduced to his ancient kingdom of Arragon; but as Isabella had left him by will the administration of Castille, he put himself in a posture of defending it in spite of his son-in-law, whose power he began to dread.

This

This alteration of affairs made Louis take new measures. Philip, son of the emperor, lord of the Low Countries, king of Castille, successor and son-in law of the king of Arragon, was formidable of himself, and still more so by his alliance with Henry VII. king of England, whose eldest son, called Arthur, had married Catherine his wife's sister. In this state Louis, who had never been able to secure himself against the designs of the emperor, had much to fear from the king of Castille his son, and by still continuing the war with Ferdinand, he would have had too many enemies to contend with; so he resolved to make peace with the latter, who had also his reasons to desire it, and who wanting to marry in order to have male issue, was very desirous of espousing Germaine de Foix, Louis's niece by his sister Mary, and John de Foix, viscount de Narbonne.

In consideration of that marriage, Louis gave to his niece his share of the kingdom of Naples, which was to continue to Ferdinand, if Germaine died before him without children, and to return to Louis, if Ferdinand died before her. Ferdinand gave Louis a large sum for the expense of the war, and bound himself to restore the Neapolitan barons, who had served in France. He promised to assist Gaston de Foix, nephew of Louis, and brother of Germaine, to recover Navarre from Catherine de Foix, her cousin, and her husband John d'Albret. Those two kings concluded

a defensive league, and the treaty mentioned the succour which they were mutually to give each other when attacked.

Mean-time Philip went into his new kingdom with the queen his consort. The Castillians adhered to their natural princess and her husband, who was a young prince agreeable in body and mind; so that Ferdinand was constrained to yield up Castille to him. Immediately after he went to Naples, where he suspected that Gonsalvo wanted to make himself master. All Italy sent him ambassadors, and the high opinion conceived of his prudence, made every body expect great effects of it; but they did not answer expectation. The people were not relieved, and the nobility were discontented, because Ferdinand but ill rewarded those who had served him, and did not altogether restore according to his obligation those who had served France.

Mean-time the king, perceiving Maximilian's power become formidable by that of his son, courted the pope's friendship, by proposing to join him against the Venetians, who had usurped Romania. The pope had displeased the king both by disposing, without his knowledge, of some benefices in the Milanese, and by refusing the cardinal's hat for two bishops, the one a nephew of Cardinal d'Amboise, and the other of La Trimouille. But greater interest brought about their reconciliation, though the effect of their agreement was several times suspended. According.



ding as Louis was more or less apprehensive, Maximilian gave more or less succour to the pope; so that he could attempt nothing against the Venetians, and upon Maximilian's acquainting Louis, that he intended to go to Rome to get himself crowned, and demanding not only the 500 lances promised by the treaty, but even that Louis should advance the 60,000 ducats which were not yet due; he refused the last, and, when he did the other, according to his obligation, he privately took measures with the Venetians for hindering Maximilian from entering Italy.

What happened at the same time, much increased the animosity between the two princes; for Louis betrothed to Francis count d'Angouleme, presumptive heir of the crown, Claude his eldest daughter, who by so many treaties was promised to Charles, king Philip's son.

All France had exclaimed against that marriage, which might have transferred to the house of Austria the rights of Claude to the duchies of Brittany and Milan, and would perhaps have given Charles an opportunity of claiming even the crown of France, a claim chimerical indeed, in a kingdom to which never female has succeeded, but which gave a prince, otherwise so powerful, an eternal pretext for making war. Wherefore the grantees and most eminent persons of the kingdom met at Tours, petitioned the king to break a treaty so destructive to his kingdom, and

and so unsecure with Maximilian and Ferdinand, who had always deceived him, and to give the princess to his successor, to keep the dominions of which she was heiress, united to the crown. Louis yielded to those arguments, and got over all considerations to satisfy his subjects.

The pope easily imagined, after this, that the king, upon whom that rupture brought so many enemies, could never think of Venice; but he was weary of doing nothing, and he undertook the reduction of Peroufa and Bologna. He set so high a value on the assistance of France, though he was very uncertain of it, to Paul Baglione, lord of Peroufa, that he surrendered out of pure terror. After so good success, he hotly pursued Bentivoglio, lord of Bologna. He was assisted by the French in that conquest.

Chaumont declared to Bentivoglio, that he had orders to attack him; and the latter, who had never had any other protector but the king, when he saw his majesty against him, was extremely happy to save the rest of his estates, and his person, by abandoning that place. Julius gave very generous presents to Chaumont, who had served him so well, and promised him the hat for his brother the bishop of Albi. Thus he took every method to engage in his interest Cardinal d'Amboise their uncle. But in order to oblige him more, he explained himself concerning the two hats demanded, of which one was for another nephew

phew of the cardinal ; but he spoke plain by degrees, and had the art to husband his favours ; for he first promised the hats, then caused the briefs to be dispatched, without declaring the persons ; at last he finished the affair, by naming them publicly, and as many steps as he made, as many new favours he drew from Louis, who allowed himself to be guided by the kindnesses done to his minister. Julius granted to him at the same time the disposal of the benefices in the Milanese.

But whilst the pope favoured the king in appearance, he was underhand carrying on a correspondence with the emperor, to create him trouble, and instigate the Genoeese to rebel. That rebellion was occasioned by the old factions which divided the city, and especially by the continual jealousy between the nobility and the common people concerning the government. The people took up arms, and becoming the stronger party, after massacring many of the nobility, created magistrates in their own way out of the dregs of the people. Ravestein, whom the king had left governor, was obliged to condescend to the inclinations of the victorious populace, who, elated with that success, quite shook off the yoke, and forced the governor to retire. The French, who had been left in the castle, were killed, with their commanding officer, and the people possessed of the power. But the king did not long suffer that outrage to



pass unpunished, and resolved to march to Genoa with a powerful army.

The pope did what he could to divert him from that expedition, which retarded so much that which he so ardently desired against the Venetians. And the Genoese immediately protesting, that if the king would only authorise the government established, they would continue to be submissive, the matter was likely to come to an accommodation; but these seditious people being guilty of new faults, Louis, without listening to any remonstrances, marched against them. Upon this, the pope being provoked, took a fancy, that Cardinal d'Amboise was resolved to poison him, in order to take his place, and was causing the king advance with that intention. He at the same time provoked Maximilian, who was already exasperated, by writing him, that that armament, and the expedition to Italy, under pretext of punishing Genoa, was in fact intended to make Louis emperor.

The Venetians confirming to him the same thing, Maximilian fired, and immediately convoked a diet at Constance, where he broke out into thundering expressions against the king. He called him a rebel to the empire, because the duchy of Milan held of it. He wrote to the pope and the cardinals, that, as advocate of the holy see, he would come to their assistance, without being called, with an army, which neither Italy nor France united should be able to resist.

Mean-

Mean-time Louis was unconcernedly advancing towards Genoa. The Genoese made some resistance, but they were soon vanquished. He made his entry into the city, riding on a jet-black horse, in complete armour, preceded and followed by a vast number of the gentlemen of the army. All the people being alarmed were at his feet, the women and children clothed in white, crying out mercy.

That good-natured and compassionate prince was moved at this sight, and, after punishing the most guilty, was pacified for the rest with 300,000 ducats, which were employed in building a fortress for keeping that rebellious people in awe, and the fortress was for that reason called La Bride, the bridle or restraint.

He restored the government as it was before the insurrection, and without depriving the people of any thing which he had given them when they submitted to him; he wanted only, that they should have as a privilege what before they had by agreement. Then, to put a stop to the reports which the pope and Maximilian were spreading at a time when he was powerful enough to undertake any thing, he resolved to return home quietly; and leaving Genoa in peace, and Italy in quiet, he raised the admiration of every body, at his vigour, moderation, and clemency; but his return was retarded for some days

by an interview proposed between him and Ferdinand.

He had lost some time before king Philip his son-in-law. That prince, according to Bellai's memoirs, gave a strong evidence of his confidence in Louis, by leaving him the education of his son Charles, rather than to Maximilian, and Ferdinand, that young prince's grandfather. Jane, Philip's consort, in the height of the most passionate grief, entirely lost her understanding, which was before but weak. The administration of Castille by that means revolving on Ferdinand, he returned to Spain, and in his passage came to wait upon Louis, who was at Savona, to receive him.

No person can receive and entertain his guests more gracefully, or with greater magnificence, than he did. Ferdinand also had omitted nothing that might please him; and even in his passage at Ostia would not see the pope, because there was a misunderstanding between the holy see and Louis, and Ferdinand wanted to give no umbrage. The day he was to arrive, the king went to the port; and as soon as the galley came to shore, he went on board, without any ceremonial, attended only by two men, expressing very great joy at the sight of Ferdinand, and the queen his niece. On their landing, he took her, according to the fashion of the time, behind him on his horse, which was magnificently



sicently caparisoned, and the lords of the court did the same by the ladies.

Louis yielded the castle to the king of Aragon, and gave the half of the city, for the lodging of his retinue, which consisted of 1400 gentlemen. He made him every where take the first place, though Ferdinand omitted nothing civilly to decline it, and often repeated to the king, that he found he must yield to him. Louis did the chief commander the honour to place him at table with Ferdinand and Germaine, and bestowed encomiums on him, with which he was almost as much affected as with his victories.

Ferdinand on his side made a visit to Aubigni, who was ill of the gout, and it looked as if the two kings emulously disputed who should honour virtue most. For the maintenance of order, Louis prohibited the French, on pain of death, to make any quarrel with the Spaniards. There were for three days several conferences between the two kings, and between Ferdinand and Cardinal d'Amboise. The result of these conferences, as far as appeared, was, that Ferdinand promised succours to Louis against the emperor, till he should get them reconciled, in order to their all three jointly attacking the Venetians, with whom they were equally ill satisfied.

After the two kings had sworn to the peace upon the eucharist, Louis set out for France through Milan, and Ferdinand went to Spain

to govern his grandson's kingdom. That young prince was in the Low Countries, where he was growing in virtue, under the direction of Philip de Crouy, lord de Chevres, whom Louis had appointed his governor.

The diet of Constance, whom Maximilian had exasperated against Louis, were cooled when they saw him disbanding his troops, and returning into his own kingdom. They promised, however, a very considerable army to Maximilian, and, immediately after, he attempted to enter Italy, in order to make war, as he said, in the Milanese; but the king took care to fortify both that duchy and Burgundy, and he likewise sent some men to the Venetians.

They, who in Maximilian's expedition were afraid for themselves, offered him a passage, provided he entered disarmed; and, on his refusal, they would not permit him to enter their territories. He was soon in want of money, and the army of the diet assembled so carelessly that he never saw 6000 men together. To complete his misfortunes, the Venetians, with the succours that were sent them from France, beat him in Frioul; and Alviano their general triumphed over him in the Trevisan. He was sensibly affected with that affront, but his army was not strong enough to make reprisals. Mean-time the Venetians, very well satisfied with having hindered his passage, made a truce with him for a year, without the king's knowledge.

It

It is not credible, how much that neglect affected the king; and from that time he resolved not only to attack them with all his forces, but also to unite against them all the powers of Europe. The republic of Venice had all its neighbours for enemies, on account of the places which it had usurped in their dominions. It had some belonging to the holy see, amongst others Ravenna; it had some of the duchy of Milan, which the king, being busied with other matters, had not as yet thought proper to redemand; it had some in the kingdom of Naples, which Ferdinand the elder had mortgaged. Maximilian wanted to have back those which it had taken from the empire and from the house of Austria. It may be thought that a republic which had been thus aggrandized at the expense of its neighbours, and which at that time thought still of nothing but continuing its usurpations, should be very odious to them.

It was therefore easy for him to get vengeance of the Venetians, and to raise up powerful enemies against them; but there was a strong interest to oppose that design; for Julius, Maximilian, and Ferdinand had an eternal jealousy of his power, and thought of nothing but to expel him out of Italy, where the Venetians could have seen him with less pain, provided he would be so good as not to trouble them.

Though Louis was much swayed by his  
resentment,



resentment, he however, according to his custom, deliberated upon it with his council; but as he had declared his inclination, the council was but a matter of form, and every one agreed with his opinion out of complaisance. Only Stephen Poncher, bishop of Paris, argued that it was not expedient, that the king should enter into alliance with his natural enemies, and break with such as he might make more faithful allies. Louis was not offended at his freedom, but he concluded the league with Maximilian.

The meeting, to resolve upon it, was held at Cambray, under pretext of accommodating the quarrel between Charles king of Castille, and the duke of Gueldres, whom the king had supported underhand. There it was agreed, that the pope, the emperor, the Most Christian king, and the Catholic king, should make war against the Venetians; that Louis should begin the attack, (for the French easily undertook that part), and that the emperor should act forty days after; that to give him a pretext for breaking the truce, the pope should summon him to assist them, as a defender of the holy see against the usurpations of the Venetians; and should admonish them at the same time, on pain of excommunication, to restore all the places which they had taken from the holy see and from the empire; those which were to be restored to every prince were specified, and the war was to begin the first of April.

Besides

Besides that the emperor was to give to Louis, for 100,000 ducats, the investiture of the duchy of Milan, for himself, his successor, and his male descendents. Such was the treaty of Cambray, which was kept so secret that the Venetians knew nothing of it, and no other part of it appeared but the confirmation of the peace between the emperor and Louis. The pope and Ferdinand had no share in the deliberations; but it was so advantageous to them, that it was not doubted but they would approve it. However, the pope hesitated, from the aversion that he had to join Louis; and only ratified the treaty in extremity, endeavouring in the mean time to gain the Venetians, who were presumptuous enough to refuse him.

At the time agreed, Louis, who would command his own army in person, approached Milan, and immediately sent Chaumont with a small body of troops into the territories of the Venetians, that he might engage the emperor. Chaumont, after taking Trevi, came and met the king again at Milan, and the pope sent his monitory to the Venetians for the restitution of the places, loading them with all manner of execrations, if they refused to obey. They caused publish everywhere and in Rome itself, an appeal from that sentence to the council, and in failure of the council, to Jesus Christ himself, and to the truth. Popes expose excommunications to great contempt, when they employ them in  
their

their intrigues and political interests, which are hardly ever to be defended by such arms.

At the approach of the king with his army, the Venetians, contrary to the advice of Alviano, who wanted that they should rest satisfied with hindering him from passing the Adda, resolved to lay siege again to Tre-vi. Though the king hastened to succour it, he came too late; but to make amends, he passed the Adda without opposition. The Venetian generals had orders not to fight, and the king, to force them to it, took a post where he might cut off their provisions. This design obliged the Venetians to dislodge in order to prevent him, and in the march the battle was begun at a village called Ag-nadel.

Alviano thought himself advantageously posted, as he was in vineyards where our cavalry could hardly act, and in fact our vanguard gave way. Had not the king come up with the main body, all had been lost: matters were restored on his arrival, but the victory continued doubtful for three hours; at last, the Venetians could no longer sustain the efforts of the gendarmerie or light horse, animated by the presence of a king, who performed at once the duty of a common soldier and a general; their infantry were cut in pieces. Alviano lost an eye, the routed army carried terror and consternation to Venice, and in fifteen days the king retook all the places which belonged to him by the treaty, except



except the castle of Cremona, which surrendered a short time after.

There was no other capitulation for the noble Venetians who were in the places taken, than to surrender themselves prisoners of war; and it had been easy for the king to take the other places reserved for the emperor, but he was faithful to treaties, so far as to return him the magistrates of Verona who brought him the keys of their city. By the help of the king's arms, the pope took Ravenna, and some other places in Romania, and the emperor's generals, with two or three thousand men which they had, made some progress in Frioul. From that time the Venetians, depressed by so great a power, despaired of preserving their dominions on the main-land, and reducing themselves to their isles, they abandoned their other places, whence they even took away their magistrates. So Maximilian and Ferdinand had no more to do but resume the possession of their countries, which cost them nothing but the trouble of waiting.

Maximilian, according to his custom, had made much stir in Germany without great advantage; but Ferdinand, who saw at a distance the tendency of things, remained quiet, and, with a small fleet which he kept in his ports, he profited of the toils and victories of Louis. A little after the Pisans were at last reconquered by the Florentines, who had brought over to their interests the kings of  
France

France and Arragon, by vast sums given to them and their ministers.

When the conquests of the confederates were almost finished, Maximilian, who saw, not without regret, Louis alone in arms in Italy, came to Trente, and fell to proposing great designs. He projected nothing less than the taking of Venice, and overturning that republic to the very foundation; but that was not the king's intention, who always inclining too soon to think things already done, returned to France with his army, to discharge himself of the expense which it cost him in Italy.

Mean-time Maximilian, who talked of nothing but taking new places, guarded so ill those which he had recovered, that the Venetians took Padua from him. He resolved to besiege it again, but wanted money, and he was not strong enough to oppose the peasants, who were killing his soldiers. The king, who so much wanted to save expense, was obliged to lay out more than ever; and not to allow the party to fall, he must assist Maximilian with men and money.

With this assistance he laid siege to Padua; but as the Venetians had taken courage again, all their young nobility threw themselves into the place, resolved either to save it or be buried under its ruins. In fact, after the breach was made, they so vigorously sustained the assault, that Maximilian was shamefully obliged to raise the siege. Maxi-  
milian,

milian, in that confusion of his affairs, had more than ever need of assistance, and so much the rather that he was not in a good understanding with Ferdinand.

The cause of their difference arose from Ferdinand's not giving him, during the administration of Castile, the half of the revenues, as they had agreed. But Cardinal d'Amboise, always possessed of his whim for the papacy, and flattered with the hopes which Ferdinand gave him of assisting him in that design, reconciled those two princes, though their disagreement was more advantageous to his master.

Mean-time Maximilian, in his necessity for money, sold Louis the places retaken from the Venetians; but the more Louis's interest and power were increased, the more was the pope's jealousy kindled against him, so that he declared very openly that he would drive the king out of Italy. It was a strange thing to see a pope who, when a cardinal, was so much patronised by France, declare himself so openly against her.

That pope omitted no opportunity of raising enemies against her. He very kindly received Matthew Sehiner, bishop of Sion, and gave him money to animate the Swiss against the king, as he had already begun to do by his outrageous invectives. He was likewise exciting Henry VIII. king of England, a young prince, who was desirous of signalizing his accession to the crown by



some bold stroke, and who was already incited against France by Ferdinand, whose second daughter Catherine, widow of his eldest brother Arthur, Henry had married. In fine, to strengthen his party, he gave an absolution to the Venetians, and made an agreement with them, in spite of Maximilian and Louis.

Mean-time, by the artifices of the bishop of Sion, the Swiss were breeding ill blood against the king, they demanded an augmentation of their usual pensions, which in itself was not considerable; but the arrogance with which they made that demand, obliged the king to refuse it, considering also that he had contracted an alliance with the three leagues of Grisons and those of Valais, that he might have less dependance on the Swiss who were becoming troublesome. That refusal and the pope's money gave an opportunity to the bishop of Sion to irritate those people, and to make them swear to a league with the pope under the glorious title of defenders of the holy see.

It was at that time that Julius, who thought all the world was to tremble before him, became more insolent than ever. He had renounced the treaty of Cambray, and wanted nothing but a pretext to quarrel with the king. He took a trifling opportunity to do it from a treaty made with the duke of Ferrara, in which that prince gave the king salt for his duchy of Milan, cheaper than to the

the pope. Julius, without any other reason, threatened to excommunicate the duke, if he did not break the treaty, and even prohibited him to make salt.

Upon the duke's refusal the pope entered with an army into his country, where he took some places; but he was soon obliged to abate his arrogance, on account of the scorn with which the emperor treated him, and still more, because Chaumont, not satisfied with retaking in the Ferrarese what the pope had gained, had entered the territories of the Venetians, and thrown them again into their former terrors. Every thing succeeded with Louis, to whom the emperor engaged Verona, a place of so great importance for the duchy of Milan; and in the mean time he was always making equitable proposals, to which the pope seemed willing to listen.

About that time died Cardinal d'Amboise very much regretted by the king and by all France: he was a man without avarice, without ostentation, wise, good-natured, moderate, as he never would have but one benefice, which was the archbishopric of Rouen. He had been happier, and had been esteemed a greater man, but for that desire after the papacy which tormented him all his life, and made him show so much weakness. Those who excuse him, assure us, that he aspired at that great dignity only to advance his master's interest in Italy, which however was embarrassed by his designs.

As he was thought to be the sole object of the pope's aversion, it was expected, that after his death his hatred would cool; but, on the contrary, it was unbounded, after he had no longer as an opponent a person of whom he was afraid. Immediately after, he gave Ferdinand the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, without exacting the 400,000 crowns which the kings of Naples were wont to pay to the holy see, obliging him only to furnish three hundred lances when demanded. The pope resolved moreover to besiege Genoa by sea and land, to enter anew into the Ferrarese, though the duke offered to do what he pleased concerning the salt. That duke took Modena, which he was soon obliged to abandon.

At Genoa his intelligence deceived him, and his designs vanished. A second attempt on the same city proved unsuccessful. The Swiss, who intended to enter the Milanese, were stopped by Chaumont, and, notwithstanding those bad successes, the pope, at the age of seventy, appeared obstinately bent on the war, to that degree, that he called the ambassador of Savoy a spy, and put him to the question, when he came to offer his master's mediation.

In that resolution, weak as he was, he came to Bologna, that he might be at hand to oversee the war of Ferrara. He began with excommunicating the duke; and Chaumont, though he spared, according to the king's orders,



orders, the land of the church, was not better used by him. Mean-time the pope fell sick, and could never be persuaded by his attendants to return to Rome, nor even to abate any thing of his attention to the affairs of the war. He said he was destined to deliver Italy, so he expressed himself when he spoke of driving the French out of a country into which he had introduced them, to deliver himself from the oppression under which his country groaned. But at that time he stood in need of them, and was not in a rage.

He might have had full leisure to repent of his hatred against France, had Chaumont prosecuted the design which he had begun. He marched to Bologna at a time when the pope least expected him, followed by the Bentivoglios, who had their spies there, and hoped to raise an insurrection in the city. At his approach every one was alarmed except the pope, who, after causing all his most precious things be carried to Florence, had recourse to the usual artifices of the weaker party, and amused Chaumont with a negotiation. It is not easy to avoid that snare, when we have to do with a power whom we think ourselves obliged to regard and respect.

During the negotiations, the pope introduced into Bologna a strong succour, partly composed of the Turks in the Venetian service, and derided Chaumont. After his retreat, the pope, though his disease increased,

resumed the war with more keenness than ever, besieged Mirandola in the middle of winter, and had himself carried to the siege, in order to hasten the works, as old and infirm as he was. He lodged at first within cannon-shot, and impatience to take the place made him still approach nearer. The city at last surrendered, and the pope was not ashamed to be carried in at the breach. Though the king omitted nothing to satisfy him, he remained inflexible, and was even so audacious as to require to have Ferrara restored to him, that is to say, that the king should ruin a prince who was then in difficulties, only for being his friend.

The king ordered Chaumont no longer to keep any measures; and that general marched of new toward Bologna, whence he obliged the pope to retire to Ravenna. In the meantime Chaumont died, and in his last hours, terrified for excommunication, he sent to ask absolution of the pope, who granted it, and took great advantage of it. Wars against the church are attended with this inconveniency; they raise scruples not only in weak minds, but even at certain moments in the strongest.

Louis had foreseen that inconveniency. That prince, being unjustly attacked by the pope, had done every thing in his power to procure peace. Then, to remove the fears of his people, he assembled at Tours the prelates of his kingdom to consult them upon what he might do in so troublesome a conjuncture,

junction, without wounding his conscience. There it was said, that the pope being an unjust aggressor, and having even violated an agreement made with the king, was to be treated as an enemy; and that the king might not only act on the defensive, but even on the offensive, without dread of excommunication. The king thinking this still not strong enough, he resolved to assemble a council against the pope.

A general council was much desired by the whole church, ever after the time of the election of Martin V. at the council of Constance: for though that council had done much good, by putting an end to the schism which had lasted forty years, it had not finished what it had projected, which was the reformation of the church in her head, and in her members; but, in order to perform so holy a work, it had ordered, at its separation, that a new council should be held.

For executing that decree, the council of Basil had been assembled; but it had not been successful: that of Florence had only laboured to reunite the Greeks, and had not mentioned the ecclesiastic discipline. Meantime all good men deplored its irregularities, which consisted chiefly in the abuses of the court of Rome; and at every conclave the pope to be elected, was bound to hold a council for so desirable a work.

Julius had promised it like the rest; but like them had taken no care to perform his promise.



promise. Upon that pretext Cardinal d'Amboise, always possessed with his desire of the papacy, had proposed the constituting of a council for deposing the pope, and getting himself elected. After his death, the king had resumed that scheme, in concert with the emperor, in order to humble the pope, and balance his power. The council was to be held at Pisa, if the pope refused equitable terms, and in that case, the two princes had bound themselves by treaty to join against him.

After Chaumont's death, the king had given the command of the army to Trivulce, marshal of France; but he had orders to attempt nothing, because they wanted previously to try amicable methods. Ferdinand had undertaken the mediation, and, at his solicitation, Maximilian had agreed, that the ministers of the princes should meet at Mantua. Louis consented with difficulty, and sent to Mantua Poncher, bishop of Paris, to join Matthew Langer, Maximilian's ambassador.

The fruit which the pope expected from these conferences, was nothing else but disengaging the emperor from the king, and for that purpose he engaged about him the bishop of Gurck, whom he expected to gain. He had created eight cardinals, among whom were the bishop of Sion, and the archbishop of York ambassador of England. He had reserved a ninth hat with which he intended to tempt the bishop of Gurck; he had come

as far as Bologna, as it had been to meet and receive him.

The bishop, to whom the emperor had given, with the title of ambassador, that of his vicar in Italy, carried very high ; and notwithstanding the pope's civilities, in the visit which he made him, he treated him with a haughtiness which approached to arrogance. When the pope sent him some cardinals to talk to him upon business, he on his side sent some of his gentlemen, and never himself spoke but with the pope in person. He continued steady for the union of his master with Louis, in spite of all the proposals which the pope made to divide them.

The meeting being dissolved without doing any thing, Trivulce had orders to act. He took Concordia, spread terror in Bologna, and obliged the pope to run away. The friends of the Bentivoglios raised the people. The cardinal de Pavia, whom Julius had left in the place, was forced to retire. The duke d'Urbino, the pope's nephew, and general of his army, took a panic and fled. Trivulce attacked the army, took the cannon and baggage, routed the Venetian light horse, and dispersed the whole infantry, both the Venetians and the pope's.

On this news, the seditious Bolognese dragged the statues of the pope through the streets, and opened their gates. The citadel, which was very strong, but ill provided, as is usual in places belonging to the church, surrendered

surrendered likewise. The pope, dejected with these misfortunes, met with a new vexation in the cruel death of Francis Aledosi. This was the cardinal of Pavia, who was basely assassinated by the duke d'Urbino, who was jealous of his too great influence over the pope. To complete his uneasiness, he was informed of the convocation of a new council, by authority of nine cardinals, against the first of September, at Pisa, in execution, as they said, of the decree of Constance, and at the requisition of the emperor and of the king, who had demanded it by their procurators.

Mean-time, Trivulce was waiting in the Bolognese for the king's orders, on the accounts of his victory. Louis, who was always moderate, would have no bonfires, nor any other demonstration of public rejoicing, as rightly thinking that the victory of a son over his father, though unjust, was to be deplored. He was even so respectful to the holy see, that he protested, though forced to the war, he was ready to ask pardon of the pope, and give him all manner of satisfaction. That prince's piety, which ought to have softened the pope, only served to make him proud. The terror and despair into which the king would have cast him, had he pursued his victory, had disposed him at first to be satisfied with equitable terms; but he altered his resolution when he saw Louis, by his natural goodness of temper, and the importuni-  
ties.



ties of his too scrupulous wife, yield so far as to recall Trivulce into the Milanese, and not allow him to advance farther upon the territories of the church.

All this obliged the king to take under his protection the Bentivoglios, whom he had re-established in Bologna, and obstinately to persist in not surrendering that place to the pope. He likewise hastened the meeting of the council, which before he was ready to give up. Julius, in order to prevent him, indicated that of Lateran, and secretly concluded a league against France, of which himself, Ferdinand, and the Venetians, were the contracting parties. They called it the *holy league*, because its pretext was the recovery of the places taken from the holy see, and the destruction of the council of Pisa, which they called schismatical.

The council was opened at Pisa, with little solemnity, by the proxies of the cardinals, who had convoked it. The pope had deposed them, and had laid under an interdict the city of Pisa, where it was to be held, and even that of Florence, because the Florentines had given Pisa for that meeting. Upon that the monastics would not come to the opening of the council, and the priests of the church refused the necessary ornaments. The people rose, and the cardinals being arrived, thought themselves not in safety; so that, after the first session, they transported the council to Milan, where they were no better received.

Gaston

Gaston de Foix, the king's nephew, to whom he had lately given the government of the Milanese, could easily force the clergy to celebrate, and the people to be silent ; but he could not force them to have the respect for the council which so great a name deserved. The legates of the holy see made not their appearance there as usual ; scarcely were there fifteen or sixteen French prelates. The emperor had not the interest or the inclination to send so much as one from Germany. In a word, there was nothing in that assembly that looked like the majesty of a general council, and it was known to be held for political interests. The emperor, who formerly appeared so cordial with the king, began to grow cool. For a long time he did nothing but make a great many unnecessary movements, though the king, without being bound so to do, had sent him La Palice with some troops. His irresolution, and the news which the king had of the league, obliged him to send Gaston de Foix into Romania, before the army of Spain had joined that of the pope.

Gaston was only twenty-two years of age, and he had already signalized himself under Trivulce, in the wars in Italy, in which he had performed many noble exploits. He longed mightily to act by himself ; but was a little retarded by the Swiss, who assembled, and threatened the Milanese with an irruption. The king had neglected to satisfy them,  
because

because he thought himself secure of the kings of England and Arragon, who were continually sending him assurances of their intentions of always living in a good understanding with him. So that people, thinking themselves despised, conceived a mortal hatred against France, to which they owed great regard.

Gaston, being informed that they were assembled in a pretty numerous body, but without regularity, despised that confused multitude, and with a much inferior army offered them battle, which they durst not accept. There were afterward several proposals of accommodation made, and the Swiss, sometimes haughty, and sometimes affrighted, at last retired without attempting any thing.

Mean time the army of the church, that of Spain, and that of Venice had joined, and all together had besieged Bologna, during the month of January, notwithstanding the rigour of the season. Their artillery had made a wide breach; but they intended not to make the general assault, till they had played off a mine, which was to open a larger passage. In fact, a considerable part of the wall was blown up; but it fell down again so straight, with a chapel which was built upon it, that it did not appear that they had been moved.

On the tenth day of the siege, Gaston, who had made forced marches, arrived at Bologna. The mist was so great, the snow fell so thick,



and the place was besides so ill besieged, that he entered it with his whole army, without being perceived by the enemy. They were acquainted of it pretty late the day after, and immediately raised the siege. Gaston, overjoyed at their retreat, heard at the same time that the Venetians had been introduced into the town of Brescia by collusive intelligence: but as the citadel was still in the hands of the French, he did not think the matter irretrievable. Neither the winter-season, nor two rivers which he had to pass, that is to say, the Po and the Mincio, did obstruct his march. He found upon his way Paul Baglione, one of the Venetian generals; he beat him, got into the castle of Brescia, exhorted his soldiers, forced the entrenchments which the enemies had made between the castle and the town, and attacked the enemy in order of battle, in the *place d'armes*, or parade, killed 8000 of them, and expelled the Venetians.

Amidst these successes, the king perceived an alteration in affairs. The emperor began to stagger, and Ferdinand had forced him to a truce with the Venetians. He had likewise so flattered the king of England his son-in-law with the recovery of Guienne, that he was thought ready to enter into the league. So Louis, on the eve of being attacked by so many enemies, wrote to Gaston to give battle, and to march straight to Rome. He lost not a moment in executing his orders; and, after  
having

having in vain tried to bring his enemies to battle, he besieged Ravenna, thinking certainly that they would not fail to succour a place of such importance. He was not deceived in his expectation, and the confederate army followed him close at the heels.

Scarce had Gaston perceived a small breach in the wall, when he made a furious assault. The burghers the day after began to parley unknown to the garrison. Thereupon the enemy resolved to attempt succouring it. Gaston, in order to prevent them from entering the town again, attempted to attack them in their camp, in which they were very well entrenched.

On the eleventh of April, being Easter day, he passed in their sight partly by ford, partly upon a bridge, the river Ronco, with which they were covered on one side, and resolved to be every where, he chose thirty men in armour to accompany him. He found the enemy in order of battle in their trenches; but Alphonso d'Este, duke of Ferrara, caused the artillery play upon their cavalry in flank, which put them in confusion; Raimond, count de Cardonne, viceroy of Naples, and the duke of Urbino fled at first; but Peter Navarre, general of the Spanish infantry, having on his side broke, by his artillery, the flower of the Gascon infantry, made a long and stout resistance, though most part of his men had been killed or put to flight.

At last the French prevailed, animated by the valour of their general. But as 4000 Spaniards, after fighting with great resolution, were retiring in good order, under the command of Peter Navarre, Gaston being victorious pursued them too briskly, and though he fought bravely, he was killed by their pikes in the middle of a battalion which surrounded him. The French being enraged killed many of the Spaniards, and took Peter Navarre. They had already taken the cardinal de Medicis, the pope's legate, and several other general officers.

When Gaston's death was known in the army, they thought they had not won the battle. The consternation of the army soon passed to the court, and the king was inconsolable for the loss of a nephew, whose valour promised so great things. But what was most grievous, was, that the officers, accustomed to obey him, were averse to acknowledge La Palice; and to complete the misfortune, a difference arose between him and the cardinal de St Severin, the council's legate, who was joined with him in the command.

That difference occasioned the loss of precious time, and prevented the fruits of the victory: for after Ravenna was taken, and Romania had surrendered to the conquerors, instead of marching straight to Rome, where the panic was very great, La Palice, under pretext of some menace of the Swifs, retired toward



toward the Milanese, and left but very few men with the cardinal.

The king soon sent him back to attack Rome; but the pope had by that time recovered himself, and there happened in that matter surprising disappointments. In the first panic, Julius, pressed by the cardinals, promised in writing to make peace, on condition of getting back Bologna, which the king had offered him before the battle; but, after the victory, Louis for a long time refused to restore it, and when he had resolved to make the peace on that condition, the pope in his turn would no longer consent, because the king of England had declared himself, and was entered into the league.

Mean-time the Swiss exasperated against France, and irritated by her successes, armed powerfully against her, and as they were unresolved whether they should begin by attacking the duchy of Ferrara, or that of Milan, an intercepted letter from La Palice, which showed the extreme weakness of the last, determined them to enter that way. La Palice returned thither too weak to resist them, because, after the victory of Ravenna, the treasurers, being too confident and too frugal, disbanded the troops. At the same time the emperor drew off 4000 men which he had given to Louis, and the French, forced to abandon Pavia, lost their rearguard, by the breaking of a bridge. So Trivulce and La

Palice thought of nothing but retiring with the weak remains of the army.

The whole Milanese was delivered up to the Swiss, who flocked thither from all sides, by the contribution of all their towns, and Louis had only remaining the castle of Milan, with that of Cremona. He lost even the county of Ast, which had been transmitted to him by his ancestors. Genoa did not fail to shake off the yoke; the Bentivoglios left Bologna, and all Romania returned to the pope. Such are the revolutions in human affairs, and such was at last the fruit of the most signal victory that the French had ever gained in Italy.

The Swiss got established in the duchy Maximilian Sforce, son of Ludovic, to whom they caused the keys to be presented by the cardinal of Sion, in name of the whole Helvetic body. The emperor, boasting of being at last avenged of all the affronts received from France, entered publicly into the league, and adhered to the council of Latran. The pope got at that time terrible decrees passed there. The assembly at Pisa who had suspended the pope's power, and all such as adhered to it, were condemned as schismatics. The king, the prelates of France, and the parliaments were cited to give the reasons by which they pretended to hinder the abolition of the pragmatic sanction \*.

After

[\* This was a wise ordinance of Charles VII. made in 1438, in an assembly of the Gallican church held at Bourges,

After the conclusion of affairs, differences soon arose among the confederates. Each of them had claims, and at the same time that the emperor entered into the league, the Venetians were excluded from it for refusing to make peace with him on the terms proposed by the pope. Affairs in France succeeded no better for this; and 6000 English were already landed at Fontarabia, with an intention to enter Guienne along with the troops which Ferdinand had promised to join them; but he had quite other schemes, and only flattered his son-in-law with the conquest of Guienne, that under that pretext he himself might conquer Navarre. He sent to demand a passage from King John d'Albret, and, without waiting an answer, entered with an army into his kingdom.

That prince, unprovided of every thing, retired into Bearn, and left his kingdom a prey to Ferdinand, who took every thing without resistance. This misfortune happened to him by having too much regard for Ferdinand, who ruined him. For as he was a kinsman and ally of Louis, he thought that

Bourges, which contains a regulation of the ecclesiastic discipline in conformity to the canons of the council of Basil. The *pragmatic* regulates the form of elections, declares collations to belong to the ordinaries, the pre-occupation being reserved to the pope. It establishes theological prebends, and gives the third of benefices to graduates. It abolishes reservations, annates, first-fruits, and other such burdens. *Dict. de Furetiere* on the word *pragmatique*.]

if



if he armed, Ferdinand would be jealous of him, and for fear of giving him a pretext to destroy him, he actually ruined himself.

When Navarre was taken, the English pressed Ferdinand to lay siege along with them to Bayonne : but he had done what he intended, and little regarded the claim of the English, so that he always shifted them under new pretences, and the English at last perceiving themselves abused, repassed the sea. Then Louis, who had no further fears for Guienne, employed all his forces for the recovery of Navarre.

A difference happened between Charles duke de Bourbon, and the duke de Longueville who commanded the army, so that the king was obliged to send thither Francis duke d'Angoulême. The authority of that young prince, who was presumptive heir of the crown, quieted the dissensions, but it could not repair lost time. The opportunity was lost of cutting off the provisions of the duke of Alva, general of the Spanish army. The siege of Pampeluna, capital of Navarre, which the French were meditating, was pushed too far in the winter-time, and they were forced to raise the siege ; so the king of Arragon remained master of Navarre, of which he pretended he was lawful possessor, under pretext, as the Spanish authors say, that John d'Albret acknowledged the council of Pisa, all the adherents of which were interdicted and excommunicated by the pope,  
as.

as if ecclesiastical power could dispose of kingdoms.

Ferdinand, satisfied with his own exploits, thought of nothing further than of making his peace with Louis, and Louis listened to every thing intending to re-establish his own affairs in Italy. He employed all his endeavours to gain the Swiss, but in vain. The emperor, a prince always fruitful in projects, offered the king to renew the alliance, if he would give him, for the archduke Charles, Renée his second daughter, with his claims on the kingdom of Naples, and duchy of Milan. And though the king had always found so much infidelity in the emperor's behaviour; yet, being pressed by the queen, he would have concluded with him, had not that princess pertinaciously insisted on terminating at that time her daughter's marriage, which Maximilian was desirous of having immediately after the conclusion of the treaty.

After this treaty was broke off, that which was secretly negotiating with the republic of Venice, was finished, on condition that the Venetians should assist the king in Italy with 10,000 foot, and with 15,00 light horse, and that the king on his side should assist them till they had retaken what they possessed before the treaty of Cambray.

The pope in the mean time meditated only great schemes. He thought he might ruin the duke de Ferrara. He had bought from the emperor the territory of Sienna for the duke

duke d'Urbino his nephew. He was thundering against France in the council of Latran, and contriving a decree for transporting the kingdom and title of Most Christian to the king of England, whom he wanted to gain. He was even contriving methods of driving the Spaniards out of Italy, which he wanted under his own sole dominion, on pretext of freeing it from the yoke of the barbarians; for so he spoke of the people on this side the mountains.

Death put a stop to those great designs of the pope, and he was forced to go and give account of so many wars, which his imperious and violent temper had occasioned. John cardinal de Medicis was elected in his place, and took the name of Leo X. He was created pope by the interest of the young cardinals, who, after seeing in the see of St Peter so passionate an old man, hoped that a young one might perhaps be more circum-spect.

The death of so troublesome an enemy as Julius raised Louis's hopes. At the same time Ferdinand, without the knowledge of his allies, made a truce with France, on condition however that Louis should attempt nothing against Navarre, and that the emperor might enter it with the king of England if they thought proper. But they had far other thoughts, and they had just sent to Ferdinand to summon him to enter France along with them,



them, when they heard from him that he had concluded that truce.

The king without loss of time caused attack the Milanese, which he knew to be entirely unprovided. In fact, La Trimouille had scarcely picked up the half of his troops, when the whole duchy, and even Milan itself surrendered, except Como and Novara, while the Adorni and the Fiesqui, who had particular causes of discontent against Janus Fregoso duke of Genoa, reduced that place.

Immediately after, La Trimouille laid siege to Novara, whither the Swiss, who were guarding the Milanese, had retired. They were so presumptuous that they would never have the gate shut on the side of the besiegers. The account of a strong succour, which was coming to them, having obliged the French to raise the siege to go and meet them, the besieged resolved to attack them two miles from Novara, where they were incamped. They marched in the night-time, and put our people in confusion, by their unexpected arrival. There had been some misunderstanding between the generals. La Trimouille had observed a post which Trivulce was to go and occupy ; but from a spirit of contradiction, and to spare some lands of his own, he chose rather to incamp in a marshy place, in which the cavalry could not act. The French nevertheless made a vigorous resistance ; but the Swiss prosecuted their  
advantage,

advantage, and cut in pieces our German and Gascon infantry.

La Trimouille was wounded in that battle, and retired to Susa, whence he repassed the mountains with his light horse. All the Milanese submitted again to Sforce, who soon took the castles of Cremona and Milan. The Adorni \*, to whom the king had given the government of Genoa, declared in the assembly of the people, that they chose rather to give up the command, than to ruin their country; so they left the city at liberty, and nothing remained in the possession of the French, but the turret or light-house of the port.

After that the Venetians had much to endure, and Venice itself was cannonaded by the viceroy of Naples. But Alviano who cut off his communications, would have destroyed him without fighting, had he not rather chosen to attack him. The Spaniards had the advantage, and secured their retreat.

By losing the duchy of Milan, the king perceived himself in danger of losing Burgundy and Picardy. The Swiss, thinking every thing possible for their people, after the victory of Novara, laid siege to Dijon, which Trimouille defended for six weeks; but he was not able to save that place nor the province, otherwise, than by promising the Swiss,

\* Adornes.

with 600,000 écus, \* an absolute renunciation by the king of the council of Pisa, and the duchy of Milan.

He made that treaty without orders, and the king did not blame him for yielding to necessity, but he could never resolve to ratify so scandalous a renunciation. As to the money, he made no difficulty, and that saved the lives of the hostages which La Trimouille had given to the Swiss. On the other side, Maximilian, in conjunction with the king of England, had besieged Terouenne with fifty thousand men.

Louis, duke de Longueville, and Pienne, governor of Picardy, found means to throw in thither some succours. But in the retreat the duke, with his young followers, coming by way of bravado too near the enemy's camp, was intercepted and made prisoner. The rest took flight in great disorder, and this occasioned that battle to be called the battle of the spurs, because our people used their spurs better than their swords. This misfortune happened near to Guinegate, a place fatal to the French. Louis was grieved at it, and the more blamed the temerity of the duke de Longueville, as he had forbid him to hazard any thing. He did not however suffer himself to be discouraged by so many misfortunes; and though he had the gout, he had

\* 600,000 écus is 75,000 l. Sterling, reckoning, as at present, eight écus equal to one pound.



himself transported to Amiens, being resolved to defend in person the passage of the Somme.

His own approach, and the good orders given by the duke d'Angouleme, whom he sent to the army, could not save Terouenne, which was demolished by the English. Afterward they took Tournai, where, being stopped by the winter-season, they resolved to return to England. Most of the French attributed these misfortunes to the council which the king held against the pope. That unhappy assembly, being driven from Pisa to Milan, had fled to Lyons at the time that Milan was taken by the Swiss, and it was there in great contempt. The queen patronised those who intreated the king to renounce it, which at last he did, to the great satisfaction of all France.

He acknowledged at the same time the council of Latran, to which he submitted the affair of the pragmatic sanction; so the pope took off the excommunication and interdicts, but the queen did not long survive the peace which she had procured. She died at the age of thirty-seven years, the 9th of January 1514; and Louis's constancy, which was invincible among so many losses, had like to have sunk under this.

Soon after the queen's death, the marriage of Francis with Claude his bride, who loved him passionately, was celebrated. Anne of Brittany, who was always an enemy of Loui-

sa of Savoy, Francis's mother, and inclinable to favour the house of Austria, had never been willing to give her consent to that marriage; and the king, who was extremely unwilling to displease the queen, rather chose to defer the matter, in hopes of prevailing with her, than to finish it contrary to her inclination.

At the same time the affairs of France began to wear a better face. Louis, duke of Longueville, was extremely desirous of repairing by some important service the error he had committed at Guinegate. He saw that King Henry was disgusted at the frauds of his father-in-law Ferdinand, and at the immense expense that he must needs lay out in order to satisfy Maximilian, and the Germans. He saw, at the court of England, Mary the king's sister, a young princess perfectly handsome, and courted by all the princes of the times; but whom Henry, for reasons of state, would give to none. Thereupon the duke imagined that he would not be averse to give her in marriage to Louis; and that as Henry was otherwise pretty much disposed for peace, it might possibly be made by that means. He threw out some conversations about that marriage at the court of England; and as he did not find himself rejected, he wrote of it to Louis, who, upon the loss that he had just had of the queen, was thinking of nothing less than of marriage, which even his physicians represented as prejudicial to his health,

which for some time past was become not very strong. But the love which he bore to his people, obliged him to that measure, and he consented to the proposal.

The peace was concluded, and the two princes made at that time a league offensive and defensive. It cost France much money, and the town of Tournai which Henry retained. But Louis did not purchase too dear the almost certain hope of recovering the Milanese by that agreement. The duke d'Angouleme was sent to marry the princess in the king's name. He was but twenty years of age, and formed to inspire and receive the impressions of love. He conceived a passion for the young queen, and the matter might have proceeded too far for him, had not he been warned to restrain his passion by his interest. The same reason made him watchful over the duke of Suffolk, an English lord, who had a great share in Mary's good graces. The king's marriage was not of long continuance. He had for several years been tormented with the gout. The ague, attended with a dysentery, seized him, and brought him to his grave the first of January 1515.

He died amidst the thoughts of war, which a marriage made from interest hardly interrupted. Though his expeditions out of the kingdom were in the end unlucky; he ought to be ranked among the most fortunate kings, because he made his people happy, whom he loved no less than his own children,



dren, which justly procured him the glorious title of a good king, and father of his people.

## B O O K XV.

## F R A N C I S I.

**F**RANCIS, on his accession to the crown, joined the title of duke of Milan, to that of king of France; and continued the schemes of his predecessor. In order to reconquer that duchy, Louis had resolved to give the command of his army to Charles duke of Bourbon, second prince of the blood, as illustrious for his valour and capacity as for his high birth. Francis created him constable, and contrived at the same time the methods for beginning the enterprise.

The first thing he had to do, was to be assured, as much as he could, of the neighbouring princes. He renewed the league with the Venetians, and with Henry king of England. It had been thought at first in Francis's council, that he should quarrel with so haughty a prince, by giving as he did Queen Mary to the duke of Suffolk; but when the thing was done, Henry's consent was more easily obtained than was believed; for he was the man in the world, on whom love had the greatest power, and he easily par-

done a fault which that passion had occasioned.

At the same time, the archduke Charles caused an accommodation to be proposed to Francis. That prince was but fifteen years of age, and from that time his governor accustomed him to business. He caused read to him all the dispatches, and on pressing occasions he interrupted his sleep to carry him the packets. He caused him propose the business in his council, take the votes, tell his own opinion, and, when he mistook, he let him know his faults in private, and in a gentle manner. In fine, he omitted nothing in order to make him capable of governing his own dominions and the kingdoms of Spain, the succession to which was to fall to him, for Ferdinand his grandfather was visibly failing, and expected an approaching death.

Charles, whom that death would soon oblige to go to Spain, was anxious during that time not to have the French for enemies. The Flemings were inclinable to revolt, and a war with France would have exposed the Low Countries. A like reason obliged the king to wish to be at peace with Charles, as he intended to regain the Milanese, and to re-establish John d'Albret in his kingdom of Navarre.

In so favourable a conjuncture, Henry count de Nassau, Charles's envoy, arrived in France, to do, in name of the archduke, homage

mage to the king, for the counties of Flanders and Artois, and of the other lands which he held of the crown. He negotiated the peace, and by the treaty which was made, Renée, Louis's second daughter, then four years of age, was promised to the archduke, with 600,000 ducats \* of portion, and the duchy of Berry, a province in the middle of the kingdom, which were given her without fear or suspicion, in consideration of which she renounced all succession, direct or collateral. The king was to assist Charles with men and ships for his expedition to Spain. Charles obliged himself not to interrupt the king in his attempts on the duchy of Milan, and to restore Navarre, when Ferdinand's succession should fall in to him. Such was the treaty concluded between Francis and the archduke.

Henry of Nassau, in negotiating his master's affairs, managed likewise his own, and the heiress of Orange, who was educated about the queen, was given him in marriage. After the conclusion of that peace, the king endeavoured in vain to disengage the emperor and the king of Arragon from the interest of the Sforces. He succeeded no better with the Swiss, who were too presumptuous on their victories, and too much exasperated, both by the harangues of the cardinal de Sion, and the vast promises of the emperor, and of Ferdinand.

\* A silver ducat is about 4 s. 6 d. value, and a gold ducat, about 9 s. 6 d. *Johnson.*

With



With regard to the pope, Francis asked him only to wait the event of the war before he declared himself, and, on that condition, promised great advantages both to the holy see, and to the pope's own family. The king found the pope too closely engaged with Maximilian and Ferdinand, but he would not declare himself, being resolved still to act for some time the personated part of a common-father. So by various proposals he amused the king, and William Budée, master of requests, whom he had sent him as his ambassador.

Budée, or Budéus was the most knowing man of his time, especially in the Greek and Latin polite literature. Francis loved these studies, and, in prosecution of his intention of restoring them, he honoured learned men. The pope had the same design, and he was the restorer of the fine arts and polite literature in Italy, as the king was in France. The pope had himself applied to them, and took pleasure in speaking of them. So having about him a man like Budéus, he had a fine opportunity of intermingling various things in the negotiation.

But whilst he thought he was amusing the king, he did not perceive that the constable was disengaging from his party Octavian Frégose, duke of Genoa, his intimate confident, whom he had himself established in that place. He gave up the title of duke, and commanded in Genoa in the king's name.

During

During these negotiations, Italy and the court of Rome continued in tranquillity, and did not expect the king was so soon to begin the war. It was thought he must at least have a year to establish his authority in the beginning of his reign, though Ferdinand, who was better acquainted with the temper of the French, often wrote to the pope that they were immediately submissive to their native prince, but never to a foreigner.

In fact, Francis was solely taken up with raising troops, under pretext of opposing the Swiss who were threatening Burgundy, but did not as yet discover his designs on the Milanese. There was difficulty in finding money; the king gave that in charge to Anthony Duprat, whom he had made chancellor of France. This man found no other expedient than to sell the employments in the judicatories, as Louis XII. had done those in the finances. Thus matters always proceed, and usually from bad to worse.

In order to have the more to sell, he multiplied the employments, and created a new chamber of twenty counsellors in the parliament of Paris, which obtained from the king that that chamber should not be formed of all those new-created officers, but that ten should be added to one of the old chambers, and ten of the old with ten new counsellors should compose the new chamber. This first creation of venal offices gave occasion afterward to a vast number of others, and has  
filled

filled the kingdom with an innumerable multitude of useless officers.

Every body exclaimed against this new institution, which rendered, said they, justice itself venal. The parliament opposed it with all its power, but at last they were obliged to yield to the king's authority, and the necessity of the times: and all they could obtain was to have permission to insert in their registers that that affair was passed only on the king's absolute command. Immediately after the king resolved upon his departure. He had a fine army and excellent officers, among whom was Peter de Navarre, who seeing himself abandoned by his master after so great services, so far as to refuse him a small sum to bring him out of prison, was forced at last to take the part of France, where he found himself so well treated.

With these troops the king marched to Lyons, whence he caused his vanguard, composed of 20,000 men, under the command of the constable, to set out in all haste. He gave the rearguard to the duke d'Alençon, and marched himself with the main body, after declaring the queen his mother regent. On the report of his departure, the Swiss threw some troops into the passage of the Alps, and the pope in a surprise sent 1500 horse under the command of Prosper Colonna to support them. Thus there was nothing more difficult than the passage of the Alps; the Swiss had possessed the straits of  
mount



mount Cenis, and mount Genevre, and even the pass of Susa, where the two roads met.

While the army was in that perplexity, and could find no way to extricate itself, a peasant discovered a new road which he had found in the rock called Eperviere, Sparrowhawk, or Rock Sparviere. This road unknown to every body, though strait and rugged to the highest degree, seemed sufficient for the passage of the troops, and even of the cavalry. Information was received in passing, that Prosper Colonna was in tranquillity in Villa Franca, without any diffidence of the French, whom he imagined to have been stopped at the foot of the Alps. The constable immediately sent forward La Palice, lately made a marshal of France, and known under the name of marshal de Chabannes, who found, contrary to what is usual, the Po fordable.

On sight of Villa-Franca, two light horsemen went up full gallop, and struck so hard against the gate, that one of the two was tumbled by the stroke into the fosse: and the other putting his lance between the two leaves of the gate hindered it from being shut, and at the same time the cavalry who followed spreading themselves in the town, Prosper Colonna was surprised as he sat at dinner, and was made prisoner with all his command. The Swiss at the same time left their post, and retired under the cannon of Milan, in order to assemble their army there.

The

The pope being affrighted wanted to make up matters with France, but he was hindered from doing so by the cardinal de Medicis, his nephew, who was a partisan of the emperor and of Ferdinand. Differences in the mean time arose among the Swiss, some troops of whom came to Novara, where they talked of an accommodation. Neither the emperor nor Ferdinand kept any of their promises to them; but they got money from the king of Arragon. So the cardinal de Sion, who had the title of general with that of legate of the holy see, easily prevailed with them to make excessive demands. They were despised by the king's deputies. and the Swiss removing from Novara, that place surrendered to him.

At the same time, Aimar de Prie surprised Alexandria and Tortona, and made himself master of all the places of the duchy on this side the Po. The king mean-time passed the Tessin, and Pavia surrendered to him. He wrote to the duke of Savoy his uncle by the mother, who mediated in the accommodation, to conclude it on any conditions whatever, and to grant the Swiss their claims though unjust, saying that it was unbecoming a king of France to throw away the blood of his allies and his subjects, when he might save it by giving some money. So an agreement was made with the Swiss, and immense sums must be found to satisfy them.

The king borrowed all the coin and silver plate

plate in the army, which he sent them by Lautrec; but the Swiss failed in their promise. Other troops came up, which made them break the agreement, and the cardinal de Sion persuaded them to march and surprise Lautrec with his money. He was informed of the plot, and retired. The king, perceiving that there was no more peace to be expected with the Swiss, resolved to march against them. He knew that Laurence de Medicis, with the army of the church, and the viceroy of Naples, with that of Ferdinand, were to pass the Po to join the Swiss. On the other side, Alviano was at Cremona with the Venetian army to join him.

So he marched straight to Marignan, hard by Milan, a post which brought him near to Alviano, and which was advantageous for preventing the junction of his enemies. He must however have had difficulty to succeed in that design, had not the misunderstanding among the confederates given Alviano leisure to gain Lodi. As soon as the viceroy had received accounts of it, he speedily returned to the other side of the Po, which he had passed, and the Swiss found themselves reduced to the necessity of fighting alone, or of retiring.

At that time the cardinal de Sion employed all his eloquence, and intoxicated them so with the glory they should gain by vanquishing, without the assistance of their allies, all the forces of France, with their king at their head, that they resolved to fight; so that word



was brought to the king that his vanguard was attacked, before he had been informed of their approach. It was on the 13th of September at two after noon that they began the attack. They had 50,000 men, and the king no fewer. But the cavalry of the Swiss consisted only of two small bodies, who had come off of themselves from the army of the confederates, and had found means to make good their passage.

The intention of Rost, the Swiss general, was to seize our cannon, and turn them against us. By that means the whole effort fell upon the foot, who were guarding the artillery; they who had heard so much talk of an accommodation, and seeing the enemy leave the cavalry to fall upon them, imagined they were betrayed, and that the French were sacrificing them to the Swiss, so they gave ground, and were just ready to disperse.

The constable saw their mistake, and openly attacked the Swiss with the light horse, to give the foot time to recover themselves. Claude de Guise, who commanded them, reanimated them: the king came up with the main body and the black bands. These were some old German troops, who had left the service under Louis XII. and whom Francis had regained. At his arrival the shock was sharp and the conflict obstinate: friends and enemies were intermixed, because both parties had a white cross on their standard, and the Swiss knew each other only by a key of white cloth

cloth which they had sewed on the foreside of their waistcoat.

Night surprised and did not separate them; they continued pertinaciously animated battalion against battalion, and man against man, till exhausted, and quite spent, they stopped as by concert. The advantage was equal, and the French being mixed among the Swiss, the king was within fifty paces of the thickest battalion of the enemy. His horse had been wounded, he had himself got some contusions, and was still in danger of being taken; for the movement which he must have made in order to retire, might have given notice to the enemy. So they were satisfied with putting out the torches about him, and speaking in a low voice. He was extremely thirsty, and there was no drink to be got but water tinged with blood, which was brought him in a helmet. He lay down on the bare ground, with his head leaning upon the carriage of a cannon.

By day-break the Swiss began the attack again with more vigour than ever. They caused the black bands to fall back one hundred and twenty paces, but were not able to break them. On our side the foot, animated by the count de Guise, endeavoured to repair the error of the preceding day; but that young prince, fighting with extreme bravery, was faint with two and twenty wounds, and had certainly perished but for his groom, who, covering him with his own body, gave time

to the king's household troops to come and disengage him

Mean-time the Swiss were continually pressing the black bands, without being able to gain any thing in four hours time, but some ground. On the contrary, our artillery carried off whole files of them, into which the cavalry threw themselves, and put them in disorder. This made them resolve to leave for a short time the black bands, and to come and attack the cavalry in rear; but they were hotly received by the rearguard, and by the duke d'Alençon who sustained their effort in front, whilst in the mean time Aimart de Prie took them in flank: so that they were forced to retire in great confusion and precipitation. They lost upon this occasion, according to some, 14,000 men, and 8 or 10,000 men according to others.

After the retreat, came up Alviano, who had marched with vast expedition, on the first information of the battle. He was vexed to find it finished; for anger he set himself to cut in pieces two companies who were retiring at greater leisure than the rest. They made a terrible resistance, and Alviano's efforts, joined to his grief, for having so small a share in so glorious a day, occasioned his death some time after.

This is what happened to that general, to whom some Italians have attributed the honour of the victory. The first thing the king did was to return thanks to God in the field of



of battle, where he had masses said for three days, and he caused a chapel to be built as a token of his gratitude. Afterward, without loss of time, he sent to the city of Milan, which surrendered; he then retired to Pavia, whilst the castle was besieged. The Swiss army dispersed, the viceroy returned to Naples, and the pope being affrighted, for all his nephew could say to him, evidently perceived that he could do nothing, but throw himself into the arms of the French. He made his agreement by the mediation of the duke of Savoy. The king and the pope agreed, that they should defend each other when their dominions should be attacked. The king took under his protection the holy see, the Florentines and the Medicis, for whom he stipulated great advantages, and the pope promised to restore to him Parma and Placentia.

This peace was no sooner concluded than the pope was sorry for having made it so advantageous to France, and had nothing further at heart than to alter its conditions by explications and delays. He waited, in order to its ratification, the news of what might become of the castle of Milan, the siege of which, it was thought, might prove tedious. In fact, Peter de Navarre, who had promised to carry it in a short time, had small success with his mines, and had like to have been crushed himself by the ruins of a wall; but the constable, who perceived that matters were not advancing by force, soon ended them by dexterity.

There was in the castle a kinsman of his, of the family of Gonzague, who had a great ear with the duke, and who despairing of affairs in the Milanese, was very glad to find his advantages with France. He bribed him, and by his means caused to be offered to Jerome Moron, chancellor of Milan, with his office of chancellor, which should be continued to him, an office of master of requests of the king's household. There were at that time but four of them, and they were very considerable. These offers would not have prevailed, had he not seen the seditious and rebellious disposition of the Swiss who were in the castle. He was afraid that they might abandon Maximilian, as they had done his father Ludovic; and this engaged him to surrender. A large pension in France was stipulated for the duke, with a cardinal's hat, if the king wanted him to remain in Italy. The duke left the castle with surprising gaiety, without showing any regret for losing the duchy, of which indeed every body thought him unworthy.

The king's entry into Milan was remarkable, by his high and majestic air, by the troops which followed him, and by the obliging manner in which he received every person. He heard at the same time, by Laurence of Medicis, various demands of the pope. He became very condescending in granting them, on condition that the pope and he should meet at Bologna; which the

pope

pope readily granted. Those two princes expected great advantages from that interview. Francis, being victorious, did not think that any thing could be refused to him personally, in the state of affairs at that time. The pope expected every thing from the flexibility of his temper, and reckoned it a great matter to stoop to the king, for fear he should fall upon the kingdom of Naples, where all were in the utmost terror. He came to Bologna to receive the king, and sent two legates as far as Rhegio to meet him.

When the king arrived at Bologna, the first thing he did was to pay in person his submission or reverence \* to the pope. They were together three days in one palace, living in the most intimate familiarity. By the treaty which was made, the pope was to surrender Modena and Rhegio to the duke of Fer-

[\* *Obedience* is the word here used, which, in the *Traité general de sile*, p. 63. is thus distinguished from *obéissance*. "The Roman-Catholic authors say, that such a country, such a prince is *de l'obedience du pape*, submissive to the pope; or, that he or it have withdrawn their *abedience*, submission. The court of Rome perhaps makes not much difference between being *sous l'obedience*, under submission, and *sous l'obéissance*, under subjection.

"But the French will never say, that their king is *sous l'obéissance du pape*, under the pope's dominion or subjection; but they will make no difficulty in saying that he is *sous son obedience*, under his submission or reverence. They understand by this last word, only a filial respect, which, say they, every Christian owes to the head of the church, in things purely spiritual, and which concern salvation."]



rara, and the duke gave up Francis-Mary de la Rovera, duke d'Urbino, who, after obtaining his protection, had served France, and whose state the pope destined to his nephew.

Afterward they treated of the war against Naples, and the king was satisfied with the simple promise which the pope gave him to assist him in that conquest, after the death of the king of Arragon. The affair of the pragmatic was the only difficulty. The court of Rome ardently wished for its entire abolition; and the king would never have yielded it, if the pope, on abolishing canonical elections for consistorial benefices, had not given the nomination to them to the king and his successors. The institution or provision was reserved to the pope, to whom the king gave a duty of annates\*, which France had always till that time contested; but Francis settled that duty at a more moderate price than the court of Rome inclined.

This is the principal article of the famous concordat between Leo X. and Francis I. by which the kings of France have a terrible load on their consciences, and the salvation of their people is in their hand; but they may do a vast service to themselves and their whole kingdom, if, instead of regarding prelaties as a temporal recompense, their

[\* Masses said in the Romish church for the space of a year, or for any other time; either for the soul of a person deceased, or for the benefit of a person living. *Ayliff's parergon.*]

[... which concern ...]  
only

only intention be to give to their people worthy pastors.

After the concordat, in order to give it the greater authority, the pope caused it to be read in the council of Latran, where it was approved; but in France the matter met with greater difficulties, by the opposition of the clergy, the universities, and the parliament, which the king's absolute authority at last caused to cease, at the end of two years. He was very desirous to return into his own kingdom, but would willingly first have come to an accommodation with the Swiss, who had been the occasion of the loss of the duchy of Milan to the French, in the reign of Louis XII. The conjuncture was favourable, because the Swiss were discouraged, both by their defeat at Marignón, and by the small dependence that they found was to be had on Maximilian and Ferdinand.

But the king of England, jealous of the progress of France, underhand thwarted that agreement, and made great offers to the Swiss, to induce them to enter Burgundy. These had no other effect than giving the Swiss an opportunity of making a better bargain with the king, with whom they wanted absolutely to renew their alliance. They got all the money they demanded, and promised to restore the places which they had usurped in the Milanese; to which however five of the cantons which had taken possession of them, would not consent. When this was done, the king returned

returned to Paris, and left the duke de Bourbon governor in the duchy of Milan.

Immediately after the king's departure, the pope began to chicané upon every article of the execution of the treaty. He was not so much afraid of the French, since Ferdinand had wrote him, that he had provided for Italy; and that Francis was likely to be involved in differences with Maximilian, and with Henry king of England. In fact, Ferdinand had given a great sum of money to Maximilian to attack the Milanese, and Henry had promised at the same time to enter Picardy; but Ferdinand's death gave Francis an opportunity of appeasing the king of England. On the contrary, Maximilian, who hoped that the Spaniards would give him the regency of his grandson's kingdoms, made a powerful armament to please them, and our people dreaded him so little, that he was at Trente with a numerous army, before advice was received of his march.

The Venetians were busied in recovering their dominions on the main land, and were besieging Verona and Brescia, with the assistance of the French. The emperor forced them to raise the siege, and passed the Oglio, in spite of Lautrec, who had promised to stop him. So the constable saw him all of a sudden at the gates of Milan. He was forced to set fire to the suburbs, and shutting himself up in the city, he resolved to perish there rather than surrender. There came thir-

teen



teen thousand Swiss to his succour, commanded by colonel Albert de la Pierre, who was always well-affected to France. But when they knew that the emperor's army was for most part composed of their countrymen, none of them would draw a sword, if it was not perhaps three hundred, who remained about their colonel.

The emperor was no better served ; for, imagining that the French would abandon every thing at his arrival, and that he might pay the Swiss with the money which he should find in the Milanese, he had brought none with him ; but the affair was more tedious than he supposed. The Swiss wanted to have their pay, and the emperor was put to a stand. The succour that had come to the French terrified him ; he was diffident of his own army, which dispersed entirely in a moment. A short time after, the constable, meeting with some discontent, of his own accord quitted his government. It is thought he was apprehensive of being abandoned by the court, and would not expose himself to lose so considerable a duchy.

The government was given to Odet de Foix, lord of Lautrec, brother of the countess de Chateau-briant, of whom the king was fond. This new governor, a short time after his arrival, besieged Brescia with the Venetians, to whom he restored it after it was taken. He afterward along with them laid siege to Verona ; but he went on slowly, in expectation

expectation of accounts of the accommodation which was treating between Francis and the new king of Spain.

Arthur Gouffier, lord of Boissi, grand master of the king's household, and William de Chievre, were for that purpose at Noyon. They had both been governors of their masters, and had both the chief sway in their councils. The alliance was renewed by their intervention, on condition that Francis should give Charles Louisa his daughter, who was not a year old, with the right which he had to the kingdom of Naples, and, till she should be of age, Charles should pay every year 100,000 crowns \* for her maintenance. But if the young princess happened to die, and if she had no sister, Charles was to marry Renée, who had been promised him. He promised to restore the kingdom of Navarre in six months; and if the states of Castille hindered him from doing so, Francis was at liberty to use force, without incurring any infraction of the peace by that attempt.

The emperor had two months time given him for entering into that treaty, and then he was to surrender the city of Verona, for 100,000 crowns, to be afterwards restored to the Venetians. Upon these terms a defensive league was concluded between France and Spain, and Francis became bound to assist Charles to take possession of his kingdoms.

[\* About 12,500 l. reckoning, as at present, eight écus equal to a pound Sterling.]

The emperor, after long hesitation, ratified the treaty. Verona was put in the hands of Lautrec, who restored it to the Venetians, and the thirteen Swiss cantons, of which some had refused to renew the alliance with the king, accepted it with one consent.

The pope had endeavoured to thwart that treaty, because he did not love the Venetians, and was very glad that France should have enemies. The king knew this, and was besides very ill satisfied with the pope, who, far from assisting him according to his obligation, opposed as much as he could all his designs. So he allowed Lautrec to go on, and he underhand assisted the duke d'Urbino in raising men, by whose aid he recovered his dominions; but, in the main, he wanted to have no war with the holy see; insomuch, that, upon the pope's complaints, a new agreement was made, in which the succours mutually to be given by the holy see and the king, were specified more expressly than ever; but with as little effect.

Francis applied himself with greater success to gain the king of England. Charles, on leaving Sluys to go to Spain, landed at Dover, as if he had been driven in thither by a storm. His intention was to rouse Henry's jealousy; but he did not find him in the disposition which he wished. That prince received him magnificently, and told him, that he had no intention of breaking with any of his neighbours. So Charles left him without do-



ing any thing; but Francis, who perceived this to be a favourable opportunity, had thoughts of getting back Tournai out of Henry's hands. That place was chargeable to him, by the great expense that it cost him to keep it. Nevertheless, he was unwilling to restore it, both because himself had taken it, and loved it as his own conquest, and because he thought it shameful to quit it. Bon-nivet, admiral of France, Boissi's bother, who was negotiating in England, overcame that difficulty.

Much about the same time, the king had a dauphin born to him. The admiral proposed to marry him with Mary, Henry's daughter, and the English thought they did themselves no wrong in giving Tournai in consideration of that marriage, as a portion to their princess. Francis promised a considerable sum to have that place yielded to him beforehand; and, as there was no money in his coffers, Henry was satisfied with his giving as hostages eight persons of the greatest quality in his kingdom.

The dauphin was presented at the fount by Laurence de Medicis, as representing the pope, who gave him the name of Francis. That was an opportunity for the pope to obtain new favours for his nephew. Francis caused him to be married to the heiress of the house of Boulogne, one of the most powerful in France, and promised, on the faith of a king, never

to enter into any interest contrary to the pope. This in him was saying every thing ; for never was a prince a more religious observer of his promises, but the pope did not act with the same sincerity.

Mean-time Maximilian was contriving to leave the empire in his family, and for that purpose to create a king of the Romans ; but the constitution of the empire did not permit this, till after the emperor had received the crown from the pope, which Maximilian had never done. Wherefore he intreated Leo to cause him to be crowned in Germany by a legate, though the thing was without precedent, and indeed that innovation was not agreeable to the court of Rome. Moreover, the emperor was still irresolute concerning which of his two grandsons he should create king of the Romans. His inclination was for Ferdinand. He intended to divide his family into two branches, one of which should have the kingdom of Spain and its dependencies, and the other should have the empire, with the hereditary countries and the Low Countries ; for his design was to cause them to fall to the person whom he should leave emperor.

By this settlement he reckoned his family the most powerful and most solidly established that ever was. While he was thinking of this scheme, death surprised him, and Charles had an eye on the empire. He had a powerful competitor whom he did not expect.

This was Francis, who, immediately after the death of Maximilian, sent for that purpose Bonnivet his favourite to Francfort, where the emperor is usually elected. He got it represented to the pope, that the great power of Charles in Italy would afford him an opportunity of awakening the ancient claims of the emperors in that country, and for that reason the popes, in the investitures granted by them to the kings of Naples, always inserted the condition that they should not be emperors. On the other side, he caused the Germans to be told, that if they elected princes of Austria, and sons of the emperors, the empire would at last become hereditary in that family, which being otherwise so powerful in Germany, might easily become mistress there; whereas a king of France having nothing in the empire, nothing could be expected from him but protection.

Charles, on the contrary, was making remonstrances by his agents, that it was dangerous to put the empire into the hands of the French, whose kings, accustomed to absolute power, could never accommodate themselves to the moderation and mildness of the German government; that the French nation always regarded the empire as a property unjustly wrested from the family of Charlemagne, in which it had been hereditary; so that the kings of France, if they were made emperors, would think they were restored to the rights of their predecessors, and to their



their ancient possession, without regarding election; therefore it was much better to give the empire to a prince, accustomed from his birth to German manners, and who, besides, by the greatness of his dominions, was alone capable of resisting the common enemy, whose astonishing progress threatened Europe with a speedy destruction, if a power equal to his own were not opposed to him. In fact, the emperor Selim, elated with the conquest of Egypt, would probably soon attack Hungary, the island of Corfou, and the neighbouring isles, whence the passage to Italy was so easy.

Such were the arguments of the two competitors, to which they added large sums of money, which they distributed or promised to the electors; otherwise matters passed between them with great civility, nor did so pressing a concern make them say any thing offensive against each other. On the contrary, Francis declared to Charles's ambassadors, that he was not displeased with their master for standing for the empire, and that he expected the same sentiments from him. The free cities of Germany espoused Charles's interest, and would not allow the empire to go to any other than a German.

As for the Swiss, they could have wished both princes to be excluded as too powerful; but of the two they preferred Charles, whose power, being more dispersed, appeared to them less formidable, and they represented that

argument to the electors. The pope, whose recommendation was powerful, especially with the ecclesiastical electors, was of the same opinion ; but he did not think it possible to exclude Charles without fortifying in appearance the party of Francis, to force the electors to chuse a third, from the difficulty of taking a side between two such powerful kings.

Moreover, as there was scarce any appearance that Francis could succeed in that solicitation, he caused it to be proposed to him to join him in getting the marquis of Brandenburg elected, by which means he should at least have the satisfaction of excluding his competitor ; but Francis thought himself too strong to desist. In fact, some electors had already engaged to him, and he had friends who promised him others.

Bonnivet made many journeys in disguise, and in the night-time, and gave away much money to gain votes ; but nevertheless Francis's friends disappointed him. Charles found means to disengage them. He had secured in his interest the king of Bohemia, his brother-in-law and one of the electors. He gained three others, either by money or fear ; for he caused the troops, which he had lent in Germany, to make some motion ; so he was elected emperor, and Bonniviet returned in all haste, loaded with shame.

The pope immediately accepted the election, contrary to the tenor of the investiture which

which he had given to Charles of the kingdom of Naples. It was a great grief to Francis, that so considerable an advantage gained over him, should be the first action of a prince of twenty years of age; and he was very much ashamed, after making so much noise, to have had but two votes. He had, after that time, an everlasting jealousy against the emperor, who, on his side, becoming proud of the advantage which he had just gained, promised himself many more.

That prince wished to be able to break the treaty of Noyon, which he had made, as he pretended, under a kind of constraint, from an apprehension of finding a rebellion in Spain. Thus a furious war threatened Christendom, under two princes so warlike, and so jealous of each other. In order to prevent it, Boissi and Chièvre resolved to meet and converse at Montpellier. They were both well inclined to peace, and the rank which they held in the councils of their princes, made them as it were masters of the execution: but Boissi died in the mean time. Bonnivet who succeeded to his master's favour, though with less authority, had no scheme but to preserve his master's good graces, by flattering him in all his inclinations.

In the jealousies of the two princes nothing was more important to them than to keep well with the king of England. They thought of this at the same time. Francis prevented the emperor, and between Ardre  
and



and Guine an interview happened between the two kings. A magnificent tent was raised for the king; that of the king of England was agreeable and surprising by the novelty of its decoration. The first day of the conference was passed in serious discourse about public affairs; but the two kings, after sketching them, left them to be discussed by their ministers, that is to say, by the chancellor Du Prat on the one side, and the cardinal of York on the other. Mean-time there was nothing but diversions and tournaments. The two kings frequently run against each other, and the prizes were given by the most beautiful ladies of both nations, who had come to that assembly. Henry gave the first entertainment, and Francis returned it in a magnificent manner.

As these princes lived in a very familiar way, one morning Francis came to Henry's door, and would give him his shirt. Some blamed him for not paying sufficient regard to his own dignity, and others for too much exposing his person. But Francis was so sensible of his own grandeur, that nothing could debase him, and his own heart being incapable of deceit, did not allow him to suspect it in others. The mischief was, that amidst those diversions, and notwithstanding those appearances of sincere friendship, business was not finished.

The king of England declared to Francis, that he intended to remain neuter, that is to say,

say, that he wanted to wait the event, in order to take at his leisure the strongest side. So that interview in which Francis expended so much money, was without any effect.

Charles managed his matters less sumptuously, but more solidly. Coming from Spain to Germany, he went to England, and on his arrival in Kent, he had a long conference with the king his uncle. He spoke nothing to him of making war against Francis, that prince was not much disposed for it; but proposing to him the glorious scheme for maintaining the peace of Europe, he bound him to become arbiter and mediator between the two princes, and to declare war against the person who should not be determined by his opinion. This proposal, seemingly equitable, tended in fact to engage Henry against Francis, who having two kingdoms to redemand from Charles, that of Naples for himself, and that of Navarre for his ally, was loath to put to arbitration what was due to him by a treaty. After that Charles continued his voyage, and came to get himself crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle.

The pope in the mean time was in great perplexity; it was difficult for him to remain neuter between the two kings. He saw in that conduct this inconveniency, that those princes having already the third of Italy, would combine together to get the rest, or, if they made war against each other, Italy would become the prey of the conqueror. So he  
must

must take a side, and his intention was to take that of the strongest, but that was difficult to determine. In this uncertainty the more particular connection that he had with France, and the pretext afforded him by the kingdom of Naples, which Charles was no longer to possess being emperor, determined him in favour of Francis.

He therefore concluded with him a private treaty, by which it was stipulated, that the conquest of that kingdom should be made at their common expenses, that some provinces should be reunited to the ecclesiastic state, and that the investiture of the rest should be given to the second son of France, who should be educated at Naples, under the tuition of a cardinal legate, till he should be fourteen years of age.

Charles was busied with the affairs of Germany, and had assembled a diet at Worms, to regulate them. There were great commotions in the empire, concerning Martin Luther, an Augustine monk, who had begun about three years before to raise the people against the pope and against the church. Leo perceiving Christendom so cruelly threatened by Selim emperor of the Turks, had, after the example of Julius II. his predecessor, given through all the church indulgences to such as should contribute to raise troops against the Turk. The preachers, being ignorant, and transported with a false zeal, preached up these indulgences in a strange manner, and it might have



have been said that to give money was all that was necessary to be saved.

Mean-time immense sums were amassed, of which detestable uses were made, especially in Germany, and through all the North. Another inconveniency had happened at Wittemberg in Saxony; the indulgences had been ordered to be preached by the Jacobines, instead of the Augustines, who had usually been charged with that commission. There-upon Luther began to preach first against the abuses of indulgences, against those of the court of Rome, and of the clergy, and at last, against the doctrine itself, and the authority of the holy see, for he grew hot in proportion as he perceived that he was heard. His popular and seditious eloquence was admired, his doctrine was agreeable to the people, whom it disburdened of fasts, abstinences, and confessions, which however he covered with a seeming piety.

The princes willingly espoused his party, in order to profit of the patrimony of the churches, which they already regarded as their own prey. So all Germany was full of his followers, who spake of him as of a new prophet. Leo, instead of reforming the abuses which had given occasion to the heresy, thought of nothing but destroying Luther. Had right measures been taken in the beginning, he might either have been gained, or stopped from fear, for he was intimidated, and wanted only an expedient that should not be

be altogether shameful to him, but they chose rather to provoke him.

Leo X. excommunicated and anathematized, by a solemn bull, his person and his pernicious doctrine; and he, on his side, flew out into unheard-of insolences, for he got the decretals \* censured by the university of Wittemberg, and caused them to be publicly burnt, as had been done by his books at Rome. He added to this outrage against the holy see, raileries so much the more provoking, as they were not remote from probability; for it is certain among other things, that he had given to his sister the revenues of the indulgences, and that the money of them was raised by his ministers, with scandalous avarice.

The emperor, for some time, took no notice, and was not displeased, to allow matters to turn a little serious. He perceived that he could always be master of them, and wanted to make a merit of his doing so with the holy see. Leo came to him without delay: Manuel his ambassador formerly despised at Rome, was more favourably regarded, and it is thought that from that time the pope concerted with him, in spite of treaties, the means of driving Francis out of Italy.

However that be, the emperor solicited by Leo, and pressed by his own conscience, to remedy an evil which had grown but too

[\* This name is peculiarly given to the collection of the pope's decrees.]

great a height, after hearing Luther at the diet of Worms, whither he had come upon the public faith, put him and his followers to the ban of the empire, and declared him subject to all the pains decreed against those guilty of blasphemy and treason. But the elector of Saxony his protector gave him a retreat, and Germany saw herself more than ever threatened with bloody wars by that heresy.

Spain was no less in confusion. Charles gave all the employments there to the Flemings, with whom he had been educated, and in whom he confided more than in the Spaniards, his new subjects. After the death of the great cardinal de Ximenés, who had so wisely presided in the councils of his grandfather Ferdinand and in his own, he gave the archbishopric of Toledo to Chevres's brother, and left to Chevres himself the management of affairs during his absence. The great cities adopted the resentment of the nation, and immediately after Charles's departure, all Spain revolted.

Mean time the six months within which Charles had promised to restore Navarre being completed, and the matter not executed, Francis resolved, according to the treaty of Noyon, to put John d'Albret again in possession by force, and for that purpose he raised an army in Guienne. Andrew de Foix, lord of l'Esparre, brother of Lautrec, got the command of it, and he conquered in fifteen

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days all Navarre, which he found quite unprovided.

He might easily have kept it, had he stopped there; but he passed the Ebro contrary to his orders, and besieged a place in Castille. Upon that intelligence, the Spaniards roused. Corunna or the Groyne, which was the place besieged, held out long enough to give them time to recover themselves. The emperor's ministers represented to them how scandalous it would be for the nation, should its intestine divisions expose them to become a prey. There needed no more to reunite them, and the duke de Nocera took upon him the command of the troops. He found our people dispersed. One of the lieutenant-generals had taken money from most of the soldiers for giving them their discharge. The duke de Nocera fell upon l'Esparre, who fought without waiting for the succour which was coming to him. He was beaten and taken, and Navarre reconquered in as little time as it had been lost.

Francis was not discouraged, and to tell truth, the two princes regarded each other as enemies. Charles had no intention of restoring either Navarre or Naples, and his marriage agreed on with a princess of a year old, appeared to him an illusion; so they both intended nothing but war, and the question was only, who should find the best opportunity to declare himself?

In this situation of affairs, and in the time  
of

of the diet of Worms, Robert de la Mark, prince of Sedan, and lord of Bouillon, had a great difference with the emperor, who had given a remedy of appeal to the imperial chamber of Spire, against a judgment pronounced by his officers of Bouillon. He pretended, that that duchy did not hold of the empire; and because Charles refused to do him justice for that incroachment, so considerable a prince was audacious enough to challenge the emperor in open diet by a herald. At the same time he put himself under the protection of France, and caused Virton, a place of Luxemburg, to be besieged by Fleurange his eldest son, a great warrior, and who had behaved well at the battle of Marignan.

Though the king was provoked against Robert, who had joined Charles in the affair of his election to the empire, he easily resumed his former sentiments for a family which had always been attached to the kings of France, and which had only separated from it on that occasion, upon some particular discontent. When the king of England perceived that beginning of division, he foresaw the consequences of it, and thought himself obliged in his quality of mediator to prevent them. He caused equitable proposals to be made to Robert, and sent at the same time the duke of Suffolk to Francis. He found him dangerously ill of a stroke that he had got at diversion; for the count de St Pol having made

on Epiphany a twelfth-day cake, Francis went to attack the king in a kind of fort in which he had shut himself up, and whilst they were throwing at each other a great many snow-balls, a thoughtless fellow threw a fire-brand, which wounded the king in the head.

Suffolk finding him in that condition, easily obtained of him orders for la Mark to raise the siege of Virton. He was obliged to obey; and Francis recovering his health, caused the king of England to be told, that since he had complied with his demand, he should oblige the emperor to restore to him the kingdoms of Naples and Navarre. He well knew the emperor would not do it, but he wanted to put him in the wrong, and was seeking an opportunity of executing the treaty made between the pope and himself for the kingdom of Naples. He knew not as yet that matters were much altered.

Manuel, the emperor's ambassador, had made a league with Leo to drive the French out of Italy. Francisco Sforce, Maximilian's brother, was to be duke of Milan, the pope was to have Parma and Placentia, and the emperor was to assist him in dispossessing the duke of Ferrara. This treaty was to remain secret till the pope had found a pretext to break with Francis, for it was scandalous so grossly to break his word. The king however was very soon informed of his infidelity. He was advised to declare the treaty to the emperor, to show him how little dependence there



there was on the pope's promise. He would never do it, because he had promised secrecy: he said he would not break his promise, even to those who broke it to him.

The pope in the mean time made an attempt upon Genoa, which was discovered. He did not for that grow remiss, but contrived several plots on the Milanese. Matters were in great confusion, and the French had made themselves odious there.

In the reign of Louis XII. who loved regularity in every thing, and whose finances were on an orderly footing, the soldiers were well paid and in strict discipline; but the case was not the same under Francis, the expenses were excessive and irregular; as the soldiers were not paid, there was no keeping them in discipline. Lautrec repressed their licentiousness whilst he was at Milan, for he was a man of regularity and authority: but he got a furlough to come to France upon some business; and the king sent in his place his younger brother Lescun, one of the bravest men of his time, but passionate and irregular. So the licentiousness of the army was very great. The governor every day drove some inhabitants out of Milan, either by taking their effects in the necessity of affairs, or because being abused they were plotting against the service, and the number of the banished almost equalled that of the citizens remaining in the city. As they were dispersed, the chevalier de Moron put himself at their head, and

attempted to reunite them. He had left Milan, being gained by the pope, and discontented for not having got the office of master of requests, which had been promised him. It is said the chancellor Duprat wanted no such man in the council.

Moron thus retiring, persuaded Francisco Sforce to seize the duchy of his ancestors, which had been lost by the cowardice of his brother Maximilian. He assembled the exiles, who, supported by the pope, made an attempt on Cremona. They were discovered; and as Lescun, made at that time marshal of France, under the name of marshal de Foix, was about to cut them in pieces, Francis Guicciardini (this was the historian) saved them, by receiving them into Reggio, of which he was governor, as well as of Modena.

The marshal immediately invested the place to prevent their escaping, and pressed the governor to deliver them up. As Lescun was in conference with him, between the gate and the fosse, a report was spread, that the French intended to surprise the place. The people immediately run to arms, the marshal was in great danger, and Guicciardini had difficulty to save him. The pope was charmed with that confusion, in order to get an opportunity of declaring against France. He immediately assembled the consistory, in which he complained with very great vehemence of the ambition of Francis, who was so outrageous, said he, as to incroach upon the

the territories of the church. A little time after he declared his treaty with the emperor, as if it had been made within a few days past. He gave the command of his army to Frederic de Gonfague, marquis of Mantua. Those of Spain had for their general Don Fernando d'Avalos, marquis de Pescara, and above them was Prosper Colonna, who was generalissimo of the whole army.

The Florentines entered into the league, and all together resolved to attack the Milanese. Much about the same time, the count de Nassau, the same to whom Francis had given the heiress of Orange in marriage, ravaged the territories of La Mark; and, after taking every thing from him excepting Sedan and Jamets, he was threatening Champagne. The king, without surprise at seeing himself attacked on so many sides, sent Bonivet with the fleet toward Spain, returned Lautrec to Italy, and marched in person towards Rheims.

It was with some regret that Lautrec returned to Milan; he perceived the confusion of the finances, and was diffident of Louisa of Savoy, the king's mother, who was called Madame, and to whom that prince left the disposal of them. Louisa hated the countess of Chateaubriant, Lautrec's sister; so that, notwithstanding all her promises to himself, he had but a bad opinion of his expedition. On his arrival at Milan, just on St Peter's day, the 29th of June, about six in the evening,



ing, and in a very clear sky, a great fire fell from heaven all of a sudden, beat down a large tower which was on the gate of the castle, consumed a vast quantity of powder and other stores, and killed more than 150 men, and the governor of the castle.

Whilst the war was kindling on all sides, the king of England procured a conference at Calais, in which the minds of the parties were only more exasperated. The emperor's envoys made proposals there, which might have seemed exorbitant, even though their master had been victorious; for they demanded the duchy of Burgundy, and the sovereignty of the duchies of Flanders and Artois. During the conference, the Imperialists began the war toward Tournai.

A gentleman of Hainault called Léques, assisted by the emperor's forces, under pretext of a private quarrel of the cardinal de Bourbon, found means to drive all the French out of the Tournaisis. He took Ardres, which he razed to the ground; and at the same time the governor of Flanders laid siege to Tournai. These prosperous successes excited the count de Nassau to make some attempt. He besieged Mouson; and the king, though pretty near with his army, could not prevent a panic from seizing the place to such a degree, that it surrendered without resistance. Nassau found at Mezieres a more vigorous opposition; and indeed that place was defended by that illustrious Chevalier Bayard,

ard, whose valour and fidelity have made him so famous in our histories. He had but two hundred horse, and two thousand new-levied foot, of which even a great many made their escape. Nevertheless he did not fail to sustain three assaults, and to ruin the imperial army, which was forced at last to raise the siege.

Nassau retired in a rage through all Picardy, set fire to every place in his passage, and gave occasion to the cruelties which were exercised on either side during all that war. Bayard's valour was immediately recompensed with a company of a hundred horsemen in complete armour, and with the collar of the order of St Michael. The emperor came to his army, which he found so weakened, that it was no longer in a condition to be opposed to that of France. He went and took post between Cambrai and Valenciennes; so the count de St Pol, a prince of the blood, without difficulty entered Mouson, which the enemy abandoned; and the king, pursuing the imperialists, took in his passage Bapaume and Landrecy, which were demolished.

He might have reaped other advantages from the confusion of his enemies, had not a court-intrigue prevented him. He had no liking for the constable, whose grave and severe humour was not suitable to his own, which was free and chearful; but the love of the king's mother did him more harm than the aversion of the king himself. Madame,

so,

so, as we have said, that princess was called, had had a passion for the constable from his first appearance at court, and had given him to understand that she inclined to marry him. Being refused with contempt, she conceived an implacable hatred against him, of which she made him feel the sad effects on various occasions ; but here is one of the most grievous.

She had given her daughter Margaret, afterward queen of Navarre, to the duke d'Alençon, a man weak of body and mind, who had nothing valuable about him, but his rank of first prince of the blood. He thought that sufficient for disputing the command of the vanguard with the constable ; a thing which till that time had never been contested with such as had enjoyed that dignity.

Though Madame regarded Alençon but little, she supported his claim in order to disoblige his competitor. The duke gained his cause ; but there was a necessity to give that incapable general a lieutenant of greater abilities, who might have all the trust ; this was the marshal de Chatillon. The constable suffered this affront inwardly with very great vexation ; but outwardly with more patience and moderation, than could have been thought ; but the king was ill pleased with that choice.

The emperor, having intelligence, that he had ordered a bridge to be built on the Scheld below Bouchain, with an intention to fight him,



him, sent 12,000 foot and 4000 horse to dispute the passage with him. They found our army already passed to the number of 1600 horsemen in complete armour, and 26,000 foot. As the match was not equal, they retired in great disorder.

The marshal de Chatillon was not informed of their march; but the constable, who had better intelligence, came to the king, and remonstrated, that an easy conquest might be made of them if they were charged, because they were to retreat in a plain of three leagues in length before a much stronger army than theirs. All the general officers were of the same opinion, and wanted nothing so much as to attack; but the marshal de Chatillon, under pretext of a fog which prevented them from viewing the enemy, said, that the king's person must not be exposed. Thus Francis missed an opportunity which he never recovered; and the emperor, who thought his army lost, retired with a hundred horse. During that time, Bonnivet besieged Fontarabia, and was vigorously pressing it. Tournai was likewise at the last extremity, and it was time to go and succour a place of such importance.

As the king was preparing with that intention to pass the Scarpe, he was stopped some days with proposals of accommodation, made him by the ambassadors of the king of England. The conference was continued at Calais, where they had agreed on a suspension of arms,

arms, during which the kings should agree upon arbiters who might regulate their differences. Matters were disposed for a peace; but the accounts of the taking of Fontarabia broke all their measures.

Bonnivet, jealous of his conquest, advised the king not to give it up; and there was besides little safety with Charles, who deferred the war only to take his advantage. Thus began a war of thirty-eight years continuance, during which Christendom lost almost all that they had in Greece and the neighbouring islands. The season being advanced, the continual rains prevented the king from passing the Scarpe, and obliged him to retire towards Artois. During that retreat, the constable surprised Hedin; but Tournai was obliged to surrender, after holding out five months.

In Italy the hatred against the French was on the increase. Manfredi \* Palavicini, a relation of the pope, and an ally of almost all the potentates of Italy, endeavouring to surprise Como, was himself surprised, and sent to Lautrec, who caused him to be beheaded. He did more, he gave his confiscation to his brother the marshal de Foix; an action which so animated the people against him, that every thing was disposed for an insurrection. The confederates were persuaded that that disposition would be favourable to their designs, and Colonno came and laid siege to

[\* Perhaps Manfred.]

Parma; but the marshal de Foix threw himself into it with 400 lances and 5000 foot, and while they were making a vigorous defence, notwithstanding the desertion of the Italians, who fled out at the breach, Lautrec was packing up his troops to succour them.

That general had many Swiss<sup>2</sup> regiments, to which the army of the Venetians and that of the duke of Ferrara were joined. He marched toward the enemy, and made them shamefully raise the siege. Upon that intelligence, the pope was terrified, and became desirous of a reconciliation with France; but Francis had recalled his ambassador, and Leo soon recovered himself, having obtained from the Swiss permission to raise twelve thousand men. The cantons which would not give any troops against the king, granted these on condition of their being employed only in defence of the ecclesiastic state. The pope accepted the terms, in hopes that he should be able to push them farther when they should once be in Italy, secure as he was of the cardinal de Sion, who was to command them.

The confederates passed the Po on the side of Mantua, the more easily to join that cardinal, and keep the Venetians in awe. In fact, the senate promised to recall the troops which they had with the French, which gave the confederates, though weak, the assurance to engage somewhat too far. All the historians accuse Lautrec of having missed the opportunity



tunity of ruining them, but however do not say how. It is certain, that all of a sudden affairs took a bad turn: but the cause of it was more remote.

The same day that Lautrec left Paris, Madame secreted 400,000 écus\*, which the king had ordered for the Milanese. De Beaune de Samblançai, the king's treasurer†, durst not resist that princess, who wanted to be paid of all her appointments, and, notwithstanding the king's orders, he gave her that sum. So Lautrec was in need of money, and by that means of every thing. His men deserted daily, and strengthened the enemy's army, in which the cardinal de Medicis was scattering money plentifully. The cantons, who wanted not to intermeddle in that war, ordered their subjects in both armies to retire; but the cardinal de Sion had the address to divert the courier who was bringing that order to his camp.

As Lautrec had no money to give them, he saw himself abandoned all at once, and of 20,000 Swiss scarce had he 400 remaining. It is certain that for a little money he might have kept them, at least for a month. That was enough to oblige the enemy's army to retire, for it was in the month of November. It must even soon have disbanded, because they

[\* About 50,000*l.* reckoning, as at present, eight écus equal to a pound Sterling.

[† An office resembling that of chancellor of the exchequer in Britain.]

were only troops picked up, and because the pope, who alone gave money, could not always furnish any; but, by misfortune for France, Lautrec fell short first, and instead of stopping the enemy at the Oglio, as he had done till that time, he was happy to be able to defend the Adda.

Though his army was not numerous, it was no easy matter to pass that river in sight of a man as resolute as Lautrec. Colonno amused him, and by making a feint of passing on one side, he passed on the other. Lautrec had intelligence of it; but he lost much time in deliberation, and found the enemy so well intrenched, that there was no longer any possibility of forcing them. He returned thence to Milan, where every thing was ready for an insurrection, and he put to death several citizens. The people, being provoked, sent word to Moron, that if Colonno advanced, the city would revolt.

That general marched immediately, and the marquis de Pescara, who commanded the vanguard, found the rampart of the suburb abandoned by the Venetians. He pushed farther, and the Roman gate was delivered to him with so little noise, that some runaways found Lautrec walking before the castle. He threw in thither what men he could, and retired to Como, where the remaining Swiss, induced by the neighbourhood of their own country, deserted him. Placentia, Pavia, and several other places surrendered. Lautrec abandoned

bandoned Parma to throw himself into Cremona, which had called the enemy. Pescara took Como upon honourable terms of capitulation, but he did not keep his promise.

On the accounts of the taking of Milan, the pope was transported with joy, and some attributed to the emotion which that joy occasioned, the fever which seized him at the same time. It was but low at first, but it increased so much, that it carried him off in a few days. His constancy was more remarkable than his piety on that important occasion. He was but forty-four years of age, and it was thought his death was hastened. Some historians have been so audacious as to throw out a suspicion against Francis, as if he had caused him to be poisoned; but that prince's magnanimity puts him above any such accusation.

The pope's death left the affairs of the league in a bad condition. He bore most of the charges of the war, and, as he had exhausted the finances of the church, the army was much weakened by want of money. A new pope was not long in being created. The emperor had the interest to get unanimously elected the cardinal Adrian, a native of Utrecht, who had been his own preceptor. He received the news of his exaltation in Biscay, where he was commanding, and took the name of Adrian VI.

Every thing at that time favoured the emperor: the king of England lent him 250,000 crowns,



crowns, or écus \*. He kept together for a short time with that money the troops which were dispersing; but that succour was weak for his necessities, and the confederates were obliged to abandon their conquests, except the city of Milan, that of Novara, Pavia, and Alexandria, in which the people maintained the garrison,

Mean-time the king, afflicted at the losses which he had sustained, was contriving to re-establish his affairs. He had got from the Swiss sixteen thousand men for the recovery of the Milanese. Colonno on his side reinforced with four thousand Germans whom the people of Milan had raised at their own charges, laid siege to the castle, and Lautrec joining the Venetians and Swiss, besieged him in his own camp. He had strongly fortified himself in it, by shutting up the place with a double intrenchment to prevent sallies from the garrison and succours from without.

During all that time, it is not credible how much Moron helped to support the party. He persuaded the chiefs to restore the house of Sforce, and that that was the only method of keeping the people in a good disposition. He caused the duchy to be bestowed on young Francisco, a man without virtue and without merit, who never did any thing considerable, and had only the title of duke; and indeed there wanted nothing but a title to amuse the vulgar.

[\* About 31,250 l. supposing, as at present, eight écus equal to a pound Sterling.

After that nomination, Moron made the new duke advance to Pavia, in order to introduce him on the first opportunity into Milan, which was ardently desirous of him. In order to draw money from the people, he raised up an Augustine monk to preach against the French, against whom, said he, the wrath of God was declared, and who must be entirely exterminated. Thus mixing religion with political interests, he drew from them what he pleased.

Lautrec in the mean time was reducing the city to very great straits; he despaired of forcing Colonno in his lines, which were too strong; but he was burning the mills, ravaging the country, and hindering convoys of provisions and stores to be brought to it. He cut the canals which conveyed water into the city, and, in fine, it had reason to dread the greatest extremities; for it was not possible long to furnish victuals for the citizens and the army. But Moron, during those distresses, forgot not his own interest: he forged intercepted letters, as from the king, ordering Lautrec to take the city at any rate whatever, and not to leave in it one stone above another. So the people being terrified, resolved to suffer every thing.

Mean-time the marshal de Foix was returning from France with some men and money. He resolved in his passage to besiege Novara, expecting that the fire of the castle which was ours would throw the place into a panic.

nic. He had made a breach, and was preparing for the assault; but the Swiss refused to go upon the attack, saying, by way of excuse, that they were not acquainted with sieges. The marshal undismayed, ordered 200 horsemen in armour to dismount, put himself at their head, forced the wall, and put all to the sword. He likewise punished the madness of a people who had butchered the French, and had eaten their hearts.

As the marshal was approaching Milan, Lautrec was obliged to send a part of the army to meet and escort him. But he could not prevent young Sforce, who was waiting at Pavia, from entering by night into Milan. The money which the marshal brought lasted a very short time, and the greatest part fell into the water, passing at a ferry-boat, into which the cavalry threw themselves too soon.

After the duke's entry, the people who adored him, were so encouraged to a defence, that there was no longer any more possibility to weary them, than to force Colonno in his lines: so Lautrec raised the siege, and marched straight to Pavia. The marquis of Mantua, who commanded there, suspected nothing, because Lautrec was beyond the Tessin. That river was fordable, and the city had like to have been surprised. The attempt failed by the fault of a gentleman, called Colombiere, who was afraid for that time, though his travelling name was *Sans peur*,  
Fearless.



Fearless. We lost 400 men who had advanced too far, and Lautrec nevertheless formed the siege; but the Tessin overflowing its banks, no more provisions were brought to the camp, and there was a necessity to retire.

There was money coming from France; and as Lautrec was going to meet it in order to facilitate its passage, the Swiss wanted to be paid, without waiting a single moment; if not, they protested they would return. But to show that fear was not the occasion of their retreat, they begged Lautrec to lead them immediately against the enemy; and Albert de la Pierre, who advised the measure, offered to go at their head. After the arrival of Sforce at Milan, Colonna had taken the field, and had intrenched himself in the garden of a farm called la Bicoque\*.

This garden spacious enough to draw up the army in order of battle, was besides agreeable, and there was plenty of water in it. The alleys were crossed by several small canals which emptied themselves into a flat-bottomed ditch, with which the garden was surrounded; so that this place was naturally fortified, and it was only necessary to plant it round with artillery in order to render it inaccessible. The Swiss nevertheless were willing to attack it; this was not the opinion of the council of war, on the contrary, Lautrec was

[\* A small, ill fortified, and defenceless place.]

advised to let the Swiss go, and to throw the rest of the army into the fortified places: it was said there was nothing to be feared from the enemy, and that differences would soon arise in an army altogether composed of mercenaries, to whom there was no money to give.

Notwithstanding all these opinions, Lautrec, who was of an impetuous temper, and besides provoked against the Swiss, said bluntly, fight they must; for if these rash fellows gained the victory, the king's affairs would succeed the better for it, and if they were beat, they would be punished for their defection and temerity. He divided the army in three: marshal de Foix had one part, in which were the Italians in the king's pay; Francis-Mary de la Rovere, duke d'Urbino, who had a short time before recovered his duchy, commanded the Venetians; and Lautrec had reserved for himself the rest of the army, in which were almost all the Swiss.

The attack began with them, and as they were posted in a valley within musket-shot, Anne de Montmorenci who commanded them, intreated them to wait till another wing of our army and our artillery might act at the same time. They were obstinately bent to engage, and would not delay one moment, and though they had lost 1000 men, before they could so much as approach the ditch, they threw themselves headlong into the water, which was deeper than their pikes length.

length. They got through at last with great efforts, and began to clamber up; but as fast as they appeared, they were killed. The enemy laughed when killing them, and Albert de la Pierre, in despair at seeing so many brave fellows butchered, was still more enraged at their killing them in derision.

Mean-time marshal de Foix, who was to seize the bridge of the farm, had come up to it without loss, being covered by a little hill, but he found the guard of the bridge stronger than he had expected. He nevertheless penetrated a good way into the camp. There he was abandoned by the Italians, and surrounded by the enemy; in spite of whom he disengaged himself, and retired in good order. Amidst all that confusion, the duke d'Urbino remained quiet with the Venetians, and had secured himself. It was very perceptible that something might be expected on the side of the bridge; but the Swiss being discouraged, refused even to continue in order to give countenance to men who were willing to fight.

At last, after a fruitless attempt by force, Lautrec wanted to try whether stratagem would succeed better. He caused some men to come up with red scarfs, as if they were coming from Naples, sent by the viceroy to succour Colonno. They were soon discovered, and were forced to give up the attempt. The enemy however could not have avoided destruction, had the advice of marshal de Chabannes



Chabannes been followed, who proposed to blockade them. No more than eight days were necessary for destroying them by famine in their camp; but the Swiss, being grieved at the death of so many of their brave companions, would hear nothing, and went away.

Immediately after the retreat of our people, a mutiny arose in the camp of the enemy. The Germans demanded of Colonno a review, and the usual recompense of a victory. Colonno said there was none due, because there had been no battle. Thereupon they mutinied; the general had like to have been killed in the sedition, and he had very great difficulty to appease it. A short time after he surprised some places of ours, and made his approaches to Cremona, the strongest and best provided at that time in Italy. Marshal de Foix had thrown himself into it, and defended himself in it with his usual courage, expecting the succour of 400 lances and 10,000 foot which the admiral was bringing.

That favourite, elated with his conquest of Fontarabia, thought himself capable of any thing, and procured the command in Italy. He had no sooner left the coasts of Spain, than Fontarabia was besieged by the prince of Orange. The king of England being provoked against Francis, whom that place had caused to reject the peace, consented to pay the half of the charge of that siege; but the  
count

count de Lude sustained it with a courage which soon made the Spaniards lose all hopes of forcing him, so that they were reduced to take him by famine.

Whilst the admiral was preparing what was necessary for his going into Italy, and the marshal de Foix was defending himself in Cremona, Lautrec was in the territory of Brescia, where he had the vexation to hear that Arona, a place of importance where he reposed his money, had been surpris'd by the enemy. What troops remained with him thenceforward were subsisted only by the Venetians, who at last were wearied of maintaining them: and Lautrec being accused in France of the loss of the Milanese, went thither to justify himself. He was very coldly received by the king, who, so far from wanting to hear him, did not deign to look at him: but the day after the constable said, in full council, that he had heard him, and that he had strong reasons for his own justification, and important intelligence to give for the good of the service. Thereupon he was sent for, and immediately the king upbraided him for having caused him to lose the finest duchy in Christendom.

Lautrec, without being abashed, answered that it was a great misfortune, but it must be considered by whose fault it happened. Then he related how his money had always run short, and that, for want of having any, he had not been able to retain the troops; that

that indeed had the army been composed only of French, he might have been able to persuade them to wait, and in fact the cavalry had served eighteen months without pay, but that the Swiss and the other troops were not equally zealous for the service, and deserted if not punctually paid.

The king seemed surprised at that answer, and thought to shut his mouth, by saying that he had commanded at different times large sums to be sent him. Lautrec said that he had received some of them, but always too late, and when the evil was past remedy; that besides, most frequently he had only received letters, and ineffectual promises. "But at least," pursued the king, "you touched the 400,000 *écus* which I so expressly prohibited to be diverted." He fell into a great passion when he knew that it had not been paid, and immediately sent for Samblançai his treasurer, to ask him the reason of it. In the mean time he upbraided Lautrec, that Colonno, who was no better supplied in money than he, had managed his affairs better.

Lautrec wanted not a reply; he answered, that Colonno had all the country on his side, whereas the people being abused by the French, from the necessity to which they were reduced, they were the object of their implacable hatred. At this the king could hardly keep his temper, so much was he vexed to see so considerable a duchy lost for want of regula-



rity. He was still in a greater passion when he learned from Samblançai, that when he was about to send the money, Madame had come in person to demand all her pensions and appointments, threatening to ruin him, if he did not pay her immediately, though he remonstrated to her that there was nothing in the coffers but the part destined for the Milanese, and that she had taken it upon herself to satisfy the king; but she had taken care not to speak to him of it; and the king sending for her, she was much surprised to hear him upbraid her in open council.

She excused herself only by throwing the blame on the unfortunate Samblançai; she did not deny, what was evident, that she had taken payment of her appointments; but she maintained, that Samblançai had not acquainted her that it was out of the money of the Milanese, and pressed the king so violently to cause him to be arrested, that he instantly gave orders for so doing. Rising up, he said to Lautrec, that he was a man of honour, but negligent and too headstrong. As for Samblançai, the chancellor being devoted to Madame, incensed the king against him; he was tried by a commissioner, and the chancellor presided at the trial; he was condemned to be hanged by the artifices of Gentil, one of his judges, and publicly executed. The king, who some years after was sensible of his innocence, was indeed able to restore his memory to honour, and to put to death the

the unjust judge by whose artifices he had been condemned, but he had it not in his power to restore life to the innocent, nor to wash out that stain on his own reign.

The affairs of the Milanese were soon completely ruined. Differences arose in the garrison of Cremona, for want of money, and the Italians threatened to deliver up a gate to the enemy. The marshal de Foix prevented them from this ; but as he could not any longer confide in them, he made his capitulation, on condition however that he should have three months to wait the succour of a royal army, after which he should surrender the town, and all the other places of the Milanese, excepting the castles of Cremona, Novara, and Milan. Colonno mean-time besieged Genoa, and the constable got it resolved to send to his assistance the young duke of Longueville, a prince of great hopes. He found affairs in a bad condition ; there was a breach which obliged the besieged to capitulate. During the capitulation the place was surprised and plundered.

In France they despaired of saving the Milanese, and the admiral who was in the neighbourhood of Ast was recalled. Marshal de Foix abandoned the places at the time agreed, and returned to France. In other places the war was not so unsuccessful for France ; the count de Lude held out Fontarabia, and the garrison was resolved to die rather than surrender. He had already defend-

ed himself for ten months, when the king, not willing to suffer so many brave men to be lost, sent Marshal de Chatillon to disengage him. He died on the road. Anne de Montmorency was made marshal of France in his place, and the command of that army was given to the marshal de Chabannes. He forced the lines with little loss. Lude was recalled in order to receive the reward of his services, and the government was left to Franger, a man of reputation, but at bottom of small merit.

Mean-time the king of England declared war openly; he was induced to this by the emperor, who visited him in passing on his return to Spain. The English came to Calais under the command of the duke of Suffolk, husband of Louis XII.'s widow, and invested Hesdin, along with Bure, governor of the Low Countries. The count de Vendome, who commanded our army on that frontier, perceiving he was not strong enough to resist in the field, reinforced the garrison, and threw into the place some officers who defended it forty-two days. That defence gave time to the neighbouring garrisons to assemble, and to besiege the enemy in their camp. At last the rains came on, and the sickness and desertion of the men obliged Suffolk to return to England.

During these divisions of the Christians, the common enemy was not asleep. Soliman II. emperor of the Turks, an enterprising and warlike



warlike prince, made himself master of Belgrade in Hungary, and the admirable defence of the grand master Peter de Villiers of the isle Adam, did not hinder him from carrying Rhodes, where at that time were established the knights of St John of Jerusalem. From that time, they wandered up and down in diverse places, till Charles V. gave them Malta, a step as advantageous as glorious for him, since it served to protect his kingdom of Sicily. He made them this present only five or six years after the loss of Rhodes; and their first retirement was at Rome, where Pope Adrian ordered them to be received.

That good pope had arrived at Rome with great intentions for peace, and all his obligations to the emperor did not hinder him from thinking that he owed still more to Christendom, of which he was the common father. Employed in this thought, he had refused the emperor to wait at Barcelona, because he wanted not to render himself suspected by the king. Mean-time the duke de Sesse and lord Dudley, ambassadors of the emperor and the king of England, pressed the Venetians to join them, and the king, in order to bring them to renew the alliance, promised them soon to send a strong army into Italy.

Montmorency, and afterward the bishop of Bayeux, made them such advantageous proposals, that they were inclined to favour the king; and the violent behaviour of the enemy seemed to determine them to that step;

for they came in an audacious manner and declared in open senate, that if in three days at farthest a favourable answer was not given them, they would then retire. The senate, being surpris'd at so haughty a manner of acting, was ready to conclude with the French; but a letter from Badouare, the republic's ambassador in France, made them all at once alter their intention.

That letter bore, that the king, whose sole employment were his pleasures, thought merely for fashion's sake on the affairs of Italy and the war; that besides, though he inclin'd to support it, he was no longer in a condition to do it, from the excessive expenses which had exhausted his finances; that he had now no method to replenish his coffers, but by having recourse to extraordinary means, which would make the people cry out, and might excite some revolt; that they were generally that way disposed; and even that the constable, provoked at the persecutions he suffered from Madame, who wanted to rob him of his fortune, was in secret treating with the emperor; that the cabal was great at court, and through all the kingdom, and that an universal revolution in France was to be dreaded.

These reasons persuaded the senate that there was nothing to be hoped from Francis; so that they concluded the league with the emperor and the king of England. It is true, the constable was strangely persecuted by Madame,

Madame, who was disputing with him the fortune of the house of Bourbon. That prince, though a younger brother of that august house, had always claimed them in virtue of an ancient substitution, by which they were originally to continue in the male line: and nevertheless, in order to avoid any law-suit, he had been very glad to marry Susanna, sole heiress of Peter, last duke of Bourbon, whom Anne of France her mother offered to him. The marriage had been celebrated with great solemnity toward the end of the reign of Louis XII. who had signed the contract, with twenty-five or thirty princes, prelates, or lords. By that contract the duke was acknowledged for lawful heir of the house of Bourbon; and as to the surplus of the effects which might belong to both, a mutual donation was made of them. That princess died in childbed in 1522, and left no issue.

Madame, who had not been able by all her efforts to extinguish the passion which she had for the constable, felt it returning more than ever with the hopes of marrying him. As she was in this condition, the chancellor her creature, and a particular enemy of the constable, who had refused him some favour, came to her, and told her that she had means of reducing that prince, and that he would put into her hands all the riches of the house of Bourbon, of which she was, he said, the sole heiress, after the death of Susanna. In fact, regarding



regarding only proximity of blood, Madame had the preferable title; but the constable had for him the substitution and the donation.

The chancellor, who found out remedies for every thing, promised her to destroy these two arguments, and put a plausible enough face on the affair for Madame to undertake it. She hoped every thing from her own interest, and was overjoyed to find it in her power to humble the constable's pride, or to take vengeance of it. She intended however first to try soft methods; she got the constable informed of the means she had of ruining him, and of that which he had of making himself happy.

Bonnivet, whom she employed in this negotiation, was a very improper person for it, because he wished nothing so much as the destruction of the constable, by whose disgrace he absolutely secured to himself the command of the army; but though he had acted quite agreeably to Madame's intentions, he would have gained nothing on the constable, who, besides his old aversion to that princess, expected to marry Renée of France, the sister of the queen, whom she herself had offered to him. So he refused Madame with disdain, and she resolved to begin the process.

The affair was solemnly tried in the parliament of Paris. Madame's solicitations, and those of the chancellor, who had the greatest interest in that court, of which he had been first president, were the strongest proofs against the constable,

constable, and he despaired of being able to maintain his right against so much power and so many artifices. Madame, however, caused the matter to be referred, that she might have leisure to cause the constable to be conversed anew. The proposals were again received with disdain, and the constable publicly demanded Madame Renée of the king.

He had no reason to complain of the king, for the refusal that he met with, because care had been taken to have it given by the princess herself, who said she did not incline to marry a prince who was going to be stripped of his dominions; but the constable, who was sensible whence that blow came, was extremely vexed at Madame, and from that time resolved to treat with the enemy. It is not known whether he first solicited the emperor, or if the emperor, attentive to every thing that might promote his own affairs, had caused him to be courted.

However that be, he had for a long time in his house Adrian de Croi, count de Rieux, first gentleman of the bedchamber to the emperor; and whether the Venetian ambassador had any certain information of it, or whether he only suspected it from the state in which he saw matters, it is certain that the first bad effect that Francis felt of Bourbon's discontent, was, that he lost the Venetians by it. So he had against him the whole potentates of Italy, excepting the pope, who always

ways persisted in his intention of making peace.

Cardinal Soderini his chief confident, and a friend of France, encouraged him in the thoughts of rather uniting the Christian princes against the Turks, than to take share in their divisions. By giving the pope advice agreeable to his own humour, the cardinal so insinuated himself into his good graces, that he removed the cardinal de Medicis, whom the pope had first taken into his confidence, as being the author of his exaltation. By his advice the pope sent legates to the emperor, and to the kings of France and England; but the different interests of the princes rendered his mediation useless.

Francis, whom the bad state of his affairs did not allow to expect an advantageous peace, wanted only a truce, and that even of a short continuance. For a contrary reason, the emperor wished for a peace, and not a truce; but the king of England, pushed by the ambitious counsels of Cardinal Wolsey, archbishop of York, his prime minister, wanted neither truce nor peace, being persuaded that in those divisions he might attack France, or at least make himself umpire of Christendom.

During those negotiations, the king impatiently expected the event of a conspiracy which was hatching in Sicily. Cardinal Soderini was the person who managed it; but cardinal de Medicis, exasperated with jealousy because he had taken his place, observed



ved him so close, that he discovered his intentions, and gave an opportunity to the duke de Sesse to surprise the courier who was going to France with his packets. It was understood when they were opened, that the conspiracy was ready to break out; the accomplices were rigorously punished; and the pope, being provoked against Soderini, who had deceived him, ordered him to be imprisoned in the castle of St Angelo, where he had him tried for his intentions to deliver up to the French a fief of the holy see.

Whilst the pope was provoked, the Spaniards found means to animate him against France. He was made to look upon the king as the sole obstacle to the union of Christendom, and he entered into the league with all the rest. The king was at Chambor, a pleasure-house which he had just then built. There he got those accounts, and there he took a resolution becoming his courage, which was, to go in person at the head of a strong army into Italy, to stand out against so many enemies. At the same time he had information, that Nicolas de Longueval, count de Bossu, governor of Guise, by a false correspondence with the duke d'Arscot, governor of Hainault, was preparing an inevitable ambuscade against the Flemings. He promised to that duke to deliver up to him his place; he and Fiennes, governor of Flanders, were to come on several sides to seize it.

At the same time the French had prepared  
some

some troops for surrounding the enemy. They were ready to come and throw themselves into the snare which the count had laid for them; but the king wanted to be of the party, and came post to that frontier. So precipitate a march could not be performed without much noise, and made Fiennes think either that the governor was deceiving him, or that the king had discovered the conspiracy; so the affair misgave, and the king vexed to have been the occasion of it, wanted to conceal his fault, by causing Therouenne, which was much straitened by the enemy, to be supplied with provisions. Fiennes taking the field to prevent him, presented himself before our people. A panic was spread in his army, which took to flight very speedily, and Disne, a captain of great valour, repaired their confusion, and favoured his retreat.

Fiennes was indeed able to prevent the destruction of the army, but not to hinder its dispersion some days after. So Flanders remained open, and Francis might have made great progress there, if he had not had the expedition to Italy in his head. He set out for Lyons, where he had ordered all the troops to rendezvous. As he was at St Pierre-le-Moutier, in the Nivernois, two Norman gentlemen asked to speak to him, and immediately threw themselves at his knees. These were Matignon and d'Argouges, domestics of the constable, whose conspiracy they came

to

to discover. The emperor's envoy had treated with him in his master's name.

By that treaty, which was only verbal, the constable was bound to furnish three hundred horsemen in complete armour, and five thousand foot out of his own estates, in order to join twelve thousand Imperialists who were to enter Burgundy. The emperor was at the same time to pass the Pyrenees on the side of Languedoc. The constable promised to repair thither, and to traverse with him the whole kingdom, in order to go all together and fall upon the king, who would by that means be surrounded, and was to be delivered up to the constable. The king of England was likewise to enter Picardy. These three princes had divided among themselves the kingdom of France.

A new kingdom of Burgundy was made up for Bourbon, of his own rebellious provinces, the duchy of Burgundy, which Aimart de Prie had promised to deliver to him, and Franche-Comté, which the emperor gave him with Eleanor his sister, widow of the king of Portugal; and, after the treaty was concluded, the constable, who waited only for the time to begin the execution, came to Moulins, a town holding of him, where he feigned himself sick, that he might have a pretext of absenting himself from court.

Matignon and D'Argouges, who were to follow him, had gone into their own country to set their affairs in order. There, pressed



by the remorse of their own consciences, they confessed to a curate their having entered into a conspiracy against the state. That confessor declared to them, that it was not sufficient that they withdrew from it; but that they were bound to discover it; and that, to give them an example of so doing, he was going to reveal the whole to the seneschal of Normandy.

These gentlemen, perceiving the whole plot discovered, in a way they were least to dread its coming to light, were apprehensive of being prevented. They went to the king, discovered to him their accomplices, and obtained their own pardon. It is hard to express the uneasiness this gave him. It was not likely that he should go into Italy, so long as he perceived so great a beginning of a rebellion. To cause the constable to be arrested in the middle of the provinces in which he was adored, was a thing impossible. He resolved to go and visit him at Moulins, which was not far out of his road. He spoke to him in a genteel and easy manner, and told him that he knew the emperor had solicited him; but that he would not believe he had done any thing contrary to his duty.

The constable, who perceived he was informed, owned what he could not deny, and added, that, if he had hearkened to proposals, he had been driven to it by the unworthy usage which Madame had given him. To that the king answered, that he could not hinder

hinder his mother from prosecuting a law-suit ; but whatever should be the event of it, he promised to restore him all his estates. That promise hardly satisfied Bourbon, who wanted not to lie at the mercy of Madame, nor be reduced to expect relief only after her death. He, however, deeply dissembled in his answer to the king ; and that sincere prince, who easily thought to gain every thing by his frank temper, took no other precautions than to order the constable to follow him, which he promised to do as soon as he should be able. He continued his journey as far as Lyons, whence he immediately caused the admiral to set out with orders to wait him at Vercell with the army.

As for the constable, some time after the king's departure, he set out for Lyons in a litter, feigning always sickness. So soon as he arrived at la Palice, he was informed that the parliament had sequestered the estates of the family of Bourbon. He then pretended that his sickness was increased, and that he could not even any longer bear the motion of the litter, but dispatched a gentleman to make his apology to the king, and returned to his house at Chantelle. He was no sooner there, than he sent Huraut, bishop of Autun, to assure the king, that if he pleased to annul the decree of the parliament, and to give him his pardon, he would serve him more faithfully than ever : but Madame, who had diligent spies about the constable, prevented

him, and got the king to order the bishop to be arrested, and to besiege the constable in Chantelle.

Marshal de Chabannes, and the bastard of Savoy, grand master of France, had orders to execute that enterprize. They marched in all haste with 4000 men under their command, and meeting the bishop of Autun in their way, they seized him; but one of his servants having escaped, went and told the constable what had passed. He no longer doubted but he should be destroyed; and though the castle of Chantelle was pretty strong, he durst not wait for a siege there. He left it at the same time, and went by by-ways to another castle which he had in Auvergne, of which a gentleman named Arnould was governor.

It may be thought he did not pass a quiet night there. Much about midnight, when he thought all his servants in a deep sleep, he rose and awakened Pomperan and Estanzane, two of his gentlemen, of whom the one owed him his life, and the other was an old man, in whom he had absolute confidence, though he disapproved all his intentions, which he communicated to him. He told them in two words, that he was going to Franche-Comté, and that he wanted one of them to go along with him, and the other to conceal his flight. It is said, he made them draw lots; and that it fell to Pomperan to accompany his master.

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Some time after his departure, and two hours before day-light, Estanzane gave orders for all the equipage to set out, as if he had been the constable, and marched some time in that way. As he perceived day approaching, and that he should be discovered, he turned toward the servants, and told them that they had lost their master; that he had been obliged to retire in all haste; and that what he regretted most was his having set out without bidding them farewell; he declared to them, that they might provide for themselves. As for him, he turned toward Franche-Comté, whither his master had got by long by-paths, passing for a servant of Pomperan, and after causing his horse to be shod backward.

He went afterward to Mantua to the duke de Gonzague his kinsman, and thence to Genoa, and at last to Placentia, in order to confer with Lanoi, viceroy of Naples, on the operations of the war. He intended to go to Spain, to marry the princess whom the emperor had promised him; but the emperor had quite different thoughts, and was not likely to do any thing for the constable, before he had reaped advantages from his rebellion. He sent the count de Reux to tell him, that he might go to Spain, or remain in Italy, there to command the army; but his secret orders were to oblige him at any rate whatever to take this last course.

To induce him to this, the count represented to him, that it would be shameful

for him to appear at the emperor's court like a prince stripped of his dominions ; and that it would be more glorious for him previously to have executed something remarkable. He advised him therefore to take upon him the command of the army in Italy, and in the mean time to send some of his people to raise his own provinces, with the troops which the emperor had in Franche-Comté.

No more was needful to persuade a man who valued himself so much upon his honour as the constable. He remained in Italy, and sent La Motte des Noyers to raise some troops in Germany, with which he was to endeavour to excite some commotions in the duchy of Burgundy, or in the neighbouring provinces; but his intelligence disappointed him.

Aimart de Prie and the other conspirators were seized, and there was no insurrection in the kingdom. The constable was tried, deprived of his office, his effects confiscated, and he condemned to die ; but the king pardoned his accomplices. A message was sent to redemand from him the constable's sword, and the collar of the order of the Holy Ghost. He said he had left the collar at Chantelle under his pillow ; and that as to the sword, it had been taken from him ever since the command had been given to the duke d'Alençon, though there had been no rebellion.

As there were several persons suspected, the king's council persuaded him not to leave the kingdom in that condition, and he sent

an order to Bonnivet to march straight to Milan. The army consisted of between 14 and 15,000 horsemen in complete armour, 6000 Germans, and from 12 to 15,000 Swiss. It was in the first days of September that he began to pass the mountains. On the report of that march, Colonno, as much weakened as he was, by his great age and infirmities, advanced to the banks of the Tessin, to dispute the passage with the French; for Novara, Vigevano, and all on this side that river, had already surrendered without resistance; but, as the waters were low, Colonno's vigilance was deceived, and while he was carefully guarding one place, the admiral passed at another.

Colonno was then afraid for Pavia, whither he sent Antonio de Leva with some troops, and himself retired to Milan with the remainder of the army. He found the city in confusion; a long negligence had suffered all its fortifications and defences to fall to ruin, the burghers being in a consternation refused to take up arms, they waited only for the moment of Bonnivet's arrival with the army, and they were ready to open the gates to him; but he was amused by fruitless negotiations, in which he suffered himself to be engaged by Galeas Visconti, of the ancient family of the dukes of Milan, who gave him hopes, contrary to all appearance, to get the Imperialists expelled out of the Milanese.

Whilst he was hearkening to these proposals,



fals, four or five days which the army passed in inaction on the banks of the Tessin, gave time to Colonno to encourage the inhabitants, and to repair the fortifications; he did more, for he called to his assistance all the garrisons, excepting those of Cremona and Pavia. He was regardless about abandoning the other places; the question was only how to avoid the first impetuosity of the French army. Colonno, who hoped every thing from time, and from the winter which was at hand, was satisfied with providing and fortifying Milan. So when the admiral arrived, he found the place in good condition, and 10,000 men in it, besides the inhabitants, and he was reduced only to blockade it, and he wrote to the king that he did not chuse to try force, for fear he might expose to pillage a city which must be kept in order to draw contributions out of it. His interest at court made his reason pass for good, and the king expected great success from his conduct.

About that time the pope died: and on occasion of his death, the duke of Ferrara, assisted by the French, attempted in vain to take Modena and Placentia. Bayard was more fortunate in surprising Lodi; after which he succoured the citadel of Cremona, which had been two and twenty months besieged; he found only eight men in it, all resolved to die rather than surrender. After sitting up the citadel, he in his turn besieged the town, which the rains prevented him from taking, and.

and the admiral recalled him, in order more closely to blockade Milan.

France, in the mean time, which was making so strong efforts against Italy, was itself pressed, and in great danger in three places. La Motte des Noyers entered Champagne with between 12 and 15,000 men, and took some small places there. The Spaniards had 30,000 men on the side of Guienne, and the English in conjunction with the Imperialists attacked Picardy with a like number. The remaining troops of France were far from sufficient to resist so many enemies, but the valour and capacity of her generals saved her. Claude de Guise, governor of Champagne, fell unexpectedly upon La Motte des Noyers, with his cavalry, surrounded and defeated him. The Spaniards, who thought all at once to carry Guienne, which was left entirely unprovided, were stopped by Lautrec, governor of that province.

That lord being ill used at court after the loss of the Milanese, had retired into his government; and though he was neglected and abandoned, he nevertheless defended himself. First he supplied Fontarabia with provisions, and shut himself up in Bayonne, when it was about to be besieged. He there sustained a terrible assault against all the Spanish army, though all the men he had were the burghers animated by his presence. The Spaniards being shamefully obliged to raise the siege, took their revenge on Fontarabia,

bia, which Frauget surrendered to them immediately. He was some time after, for his cowardice, degraded on a scaffold by sentence of a court-martial.

Picardy was in greater danger than Guienne, and La Trimouille had use for all his prudence against his enemies. He had very few men, but he was so skilful in using them, that the enemy always found them in every place to which they made their approaches, in which he was wonderfully seconded by the incredible vigilance and valour of the brave Crequi Pontderemi, who signalized himself in that war. At last however the English passed the Somme at Braye: they took and burnt Roye; Mondidier too easily surrendered to them, and they came as far as the river Oyse within eleven leagues of Paris.

At the same time the king sent thither from Lyons the duke of Vendome, with 400 horsemen in complete armour. The season was far advanced, and the English who thought to swallow up France, were forced to retire, without being able to keep any thing of what they had taken in Picardy. It was about All Hallow tide; and the same inconveniencies from the season which had driven away the English, greatly fatigued our army in Italy.

Colonno had defended Milan by his vigilance and industry; for whilst the admiral was destroying the mills and diverting the  
water



water of the canal, he caused to be made in the city so great a number of hand-mills, that, with the plenty of grain which the country afforded, bread never failed, but money was entirely run out. Colonne, in order to get some, had agreed with the duke of Ferrara, to whom he had promised to cause Modena to be delivered up, on his giving 50,000 ducats \*. The college of cardinals, who governed during the vacation, prevented that place from being taken from the holy see. Though that affair had not succeeded, the besieged nevertheless defended themselves, and the French army was every day diminishing.

Another misfortune happened in affairs. The admiral was afraid that the enemy should seize the bridge which he had made at Vigevano, by which the provisions were brought to his camp, and he recalled Bayard to guard it. He did not consider that by that step he was abandoning Lodi, and leaving the passages so open, that Milan was both plentifully supplied, and had all necessary succours. Then he was forced to leave Milan, which there was no longer any possibility of starving, and Bonnivet decamped in order to go and take up his quarters at Biagrassa. That post, which was fourteen miles distant from Milan,

[\* About 4 s. 6 d. each, if of silver, and about 9 s. 6 d. each, if of gold. The latter is more common at this time, and the amount of this sum by that reckoning would be 23,750 l. Sterling.]

seemed

seemed advantageous to him, because thence he could incommode the city, and had there nothing to fear, as he was master of the whole country round.

Whilst he was retiring, Bourbon and the other generals pressed Colonno to pursue him; he would not do it, saying there was nothing to be done but to let the admiral go on, and he would himself very soon finish his army. A little after the retreat, the conclave, which seemed to wait the success of the siege, for the election of a pope, determined upon Cardinal de Medicis, who took the name of Clement VII.

Colonno, after raising the siege of Milan, afterward hindered Bonnivet from taking Arona, a place of importance; but he did not long enjoy the glory which he had acquired. He died toward the end of the year, and gave up the command to Lanoi only the night before his death. Pescaire was sent to be his lieutenant-general, and Bourbon, to whom the entire command of the army was promised, was too happy to divide it with Lanoi.

Mean-time the admiral did not fail to infest the Milanese in the post which he had possessed; but the pope, who was more active than his predecessor, ordered his troops to join the viceroy, at the same time that the Venetian army and 6000 foot arrived also at Milan. After the arrival of these troops, the Imperialists

Imperialists resolved to take the field, and incamped five miles from Biagrassa.

The admiral had posted himself in a very strong entrenchment, in which he had two months provisions, and expected that the enemy would ruin themselves. They intended to destroy him in the same manner; and Bourbon, who had very good intelligence of what was passing in Bonnivet's camp, hindered them from fighting, for he knew that he was beginning to be in want of money.

Matters being thus as it were in suspense, the castle of Cremona was forced to surrender for want of provisions, our camp turned sickly, and the admiral was forced to leave his post at Biagrassa, leaving a garrison there, to defend Vigevano, of which the enemy were going to take possession. He offered them battle, which they refused; Vercelli, whence most of his provisions came, revolted; and he began to be afraid; but a reinforcement which came to him, raised his hopes again. Besides that, Rence de Ceri, a Roman baron, a famous general of that time, had 5000 Grisons in the Bergamasco, who were to join the garrison of Lodi, or make a diversion in the territories of Venice. But John de Medicis, commanding the Venetians, took some posts so advantageous, that he prevented the junction of the Grisons, and dispersed them.

On his return he was informed by Bourbon that Biagrassa was in a bad condition,



and took it by force in four days. The admiral had still one resource in the assistance of the Swiss, who were descending from their mountains in great bodies to join him. He waited them some time at Novara, and perceiving that his army was diminishing every day, he resolved to go and meet them. They were in number about 8000 on the banks of the Sessia, which separated them from our army, and they were hesitating about passing it, because the king had not sent them 400 horsemen in complete armour, as he had promised.

Bonnivet expected, that, by joining them, he should determine them to act; but he had no sooner decamped, than the Imperialists marched after them. Lanoi was not of that opinion, and wanted a large passage to be made for the retiring enemy: but Bourbon, who had been informed of the confusion in our camp, represented it as an easy matter to defeat fugitives, who had still a river to pass before their eyes, and he brought over Pescaro to his opinion. They resolved to attack, and they found the admiral on his defence in the rear of the last battalion.

In this condition a new misfortune happened to him; the Swiss in his army deserted, and joined their countrymen on the other bank. The admiral, without loss of time, covered the confusion with his light horse, and vigorously sustained the enemy's attack; but being wounded in the right arm with a carabine-

rabine-shot; his wound, and the fear of falling into the hands of Bourbon his mortal enemy, made him give up the command to Bayard; for marshal de Montmorcency, who had always commanded the vanguard that campaign, was left behind sick. Bayard, who had often told the admiral his faults, with a liberty becoming so brave a man as he was, told him when he accepted the command, that it was very late to give it to him, and that matters were past remedy, but that he would serve his country to the end at the expense of his own life.

He then gave his orders, and joined Vandenesse, Marshal de Chabannes's brother. By their valour and conduct the army passed quite entire. It cost them both their lives. Vandenesse fell dead on the spot by a wound through the body; and Bayard being mortally wounded, after seeing the retreat happily finished, caused himself to be set at the foot of a tree with his face turned toward the enemy, expecting death with an undaunted courage, and always recommending his soul to God.

Chance bringing Bourbon to the place where he was, he cried out to him, "Poor  
 " Chevalier Bayard, I pity thee for being in so  
 " lamentable a condition." "It is you, my  
 " Lord," replied Bayard, "who are to be  
 " pitied, you who are fighting against your  
 " king, and contrary to your oath; for my  
 " part, I die like a brave man, in the service

“ of my country.” He died a moment after, equally regretted by the enemy and the French. Pescaro likewise hastening to the place where he was, had caused a tent to be pitched for him, and after his death caused his body to be embalmed, and sent it back with a great funeral procession.

Mean-time the army was continuing its retreat in good order; when it was in safety, the Swiss retired to their own country, and Bonnivet marched toward France. He found on his march the 400 lances who were to join the Swiss very complete and in good order, but come too late, as it often happened in those times. After that retreat it was easy for the Imperialists to retake all the places of strength in the Milanese.

This intelligence was received in France with very great grief. Bonnivet appeared not the less confidently for that at court. He compared his own retreat to the finest actions that had been performed in war. The whole court laughed at him, but he had address enough not to disoblige the king. He was apprehensive, however, that, after ruining so great an army, they might not venture any more to intrust him with the command, and this obliged him to persuade the king to go into Italy in person. It was no difficult matter to put this thought in a prince's head, who had nothing so much at heart as glory, and who had been kept in his kingdom on these late occasions only by evident necessity.

But



But the enemy were readier than he, and Bourbon was continually soliciting them not to leave a victorious army unemployed, the season was favourable for them, and the spring advancing.

The English were ready to concur with them in the destruction of France, which they thought half conquered. Charles and Henry had made a treaty by which they divided the kingdom between them. Bourbon had his share; and it was already settled, that, notwithstanding the title of king which was given to him, he should be bound to do homage to the king of England. That king was to give the emperor immense sums, or to enter Picardy with a powerful army; in which case the emperor was to give him some troops, and to furnish artillery; but, in so great objects, the chief hope of both kings was upon Bourbon.

He was provoked, that, without his participation, a treaty had been made, in which his fortune was determined. His passion did not hinder him from accepting the command; and had his counsels been followed, it had been hard for France to avoid her ruin. His opinion was to pass by Dauphiné, without besieging any place, and to land about Lyons, in which he had his spies. Thence he wanted to enter the provinces of his own domain, and every where in his march to disperse manifestoes against the government, promising the people relief from all taxes, an

usual artifice with which the ignorant multitude is flattered.

As there were almost no troops in France, but the remains of the army returned from Italy, every thing was to be dreaded from such a counsel; but, for the happiness of France, it was not followed. Moncade, whom his pliant temper and his skill in war had raised to high credit with the emperor, represented to him of what consequence it was to expose all the forces of the empire in the middle of France, under the command of a rebel, who might be overjoyed to make his peace with his king, at the expense of the emperor, with whom he was dissatisfied. He thought it more proper to besiege a maritime town, where the necessity of having a fleet would divide Bourbon's power, and he expected to have that command. He was not deceived in his expectation.

The emperor was of his opinion, and ordering Bourbon to besiege Marseilles; he gave the command of the fleet to Moncade. In order still more to diminish Bourbon's power, he wanted that the Spaniards should be commanded by Pescaro, under pretext that that nation would never be brought to obey a foreigner. Though the emperor sent his orders to Bourbon with many excuses and compliments, he was not satisfied with so many fair words, and he could not digest their giving him so many companions, or rather so many overseers; but it was no longer time

time to withdraw, and obedience was his only choice. He set out then with 500 horsemen in complete armour, 800 light horse, and 12,000 infantry.

As he found no army to oppose him, he entered Provence without difficulty, and took Toulon and Aix; where he heard of the queen's death. That princess was adored by all the French, both on account of her own merit, and on account of the ever beloved memory of Louis XII. her father.

Bourbon, who perceived the people very much dissatisfied, and still exasperated by those reports, made use of that opportunity to renew his first schemes. He represented to the Spaniards France without an army, the people in commotion, and ready to rebel; and in fine, the whole kingdom lost, had they but the courage to attack it. He was allowed to argue, and Pescara laid siege to Marseilles according to the emperor's order. Rence de Ceri had in it under his command 200 lances, and 3000 old soldiers, with whom he made a vigorous defence.

The king in the mean time was not asleep; after recruiting his army, he sent with the vanguard Marshal de Chabannes, and resolved to follow him close. The Spaniards had not been so audacious as to enter Avignon, and though the pope was not very careful to give them the succours which he owed them by treaties, they respected his domains; but the marshal, who had not the same reason to spare



spare them, entered the place, under pretext of keeping it for the pope.

When the Imperialists heard that he was so near, a confusion arose in their camp; besides, they wanted money; the states of Castille and of the neighbouring kingdoms, far from granting to the emperor the sums he had demanded, had only presented petitions to be eased of that imposition; so that he had not been able to enter Guienne, as he had projected; the king of England had not entered Picardy. Those two princes were making great complaints, and mutually upbraided each other, for greatly failing in their promises: they both had reason; but the king of England appeared to be most dissatisfied. Cardinal Wolsey, archbishop of York, prime minister, began to be favourably disposed to France, and turned his master's inclination that way.

In this good disposition he received the envoys of Francis, who having no enemies on hand but in Provence, marched thither with all his forces. Upon his approach, the marshal advanced to Salon de Craux, which was but eight leagues from Marseilles. The panic was redoubled in the enemy's camp, and they were forced to raise the siege in great haste, after losing a great many men, and their whole baggage. The king was not satisfied with driving them out of his kingdom; he thought, that, by marching straight to Milan, he might easily reduce the whole country;

try : what was of greatest consequence, was to arrive there first ; and that prince set out without giving a hearing to any advice but the admiral's, who was hastening him. He avoided meeting with his mother, who perceiving the winter approaching, for it was the middle of October, was coming on purpose from Lyons to put a stop to his expedition ; and he wrote her to go to Paris, and get the letters of regency, which he left her, registered.

During the two first days, the two armies made almost equal dispatch. But Pescara, who knew of what consequence it was to him to join Lanoi, whom the men which he had in the Milanese had almost abandoned for want of money, all at once made a march of thirty miles, in order to throw himself into Pavia, where Lanoi met him. There they deliberated on what they had to do ; and the viceroy, having left a great reinforcement in Pavia, under the command of Antonio de Leva, resolved to march to Milan with the rest of the army ; but Moron, whom he had sent thither some days before to write him intelligence, prevented him from entering a town which the pestilence had desolated ; and so far from calling succours to it, he induced the duke Sforce to abandon it. The king speedily approached, but he would not enter it. He was satisfied with sending in La Trimouille, and putting a garrison in it able to lay siege to the castle.

When

When that was done, he assembled a council of war; the end of October was approaching, and it was of very great consequence to him to employ his time well. John Stuart duke of Albany, the marshals de Chabannes and de Foix, with all the old officers, were of opinion, that, without loitering at a siege, even that of the castle of Milan, La Trimouille should be ordered to march and fall upon the Imperialists while they were in confusion; but Bonnivet carried it against so many great men, and, contrary to the plurality of opinions, he got the siege of Pavia undertaken.

Then the Imperialists began to take courage again. They were dispersed in several places in great fear, and almost destitute of provisions; the pope and the Florentines amused them with fine speeches, the Venetians hardly did any thing more. In such a sad condition, giving them time to breathe, was the happiest thing that could befall them. The king, who expected easily to carry Pavia, caused it to be so briskly cannonaded, that in two days there was a breach. As they were marching to the assault, it was discovered from the top of the ruins, that Leva had caused a new ditch to be dug, defended by carabineers, and incapable of being forced. They were obliged to retire, and Marshal de Foix made a second attempt as fruitless as the first; so it was resolved to attack the town in another manner.

One



One side of the walls was defended by a branch of the Tessin, and because it was not fordable, it had not been thought necessary to fortify the town on that side. An attempt was made to divert its course, and for that purpose great works were begun. Mean-time the duke de Bourbon, who perceived that the siege was going heavily on, thought he might have leisure to raise some recruits in Germany, in order to come and attack the king with a stronger force. He had no money, and the emperor was in no condition to furnish him any; but the duke of Savoy pawned his very jewels to procure him some.

It is not known by what interest that duke suffered himself to be gained against his own sister, the king's mother, and against the king his nephew, whom he had till that time tenderly loved; it is only known, that after he married the Infanta of Portugal, a kinswoman of the emperor, his sentiments were soon altered with regard to France. With the money which Bourbon had by her means, he soon rendered himself considerable in Germany, where he easily gained Fronsberg, a zealous Lutheran, who wanted only to go to Italy, in order to have an opportunity of making war against the pope. By means of this man, who had very strong interest, he raised some troops in great haste, being always afraid that the Spaniards, who were in want of money, should abandon Pavia, or that the king should be obliged to retire

tire before his return ; but the progress of the siege was slow, and the king was no less obstinately bent to continue it.

They had plagued themselves in vain for three weeks, in diverting the course of the river, which being swoln by the falls of rain and snow had at once carried off the work of 30,000 pioneers. This slow progress of the siege occasioned many negotiations ; the pope caused Lanoi's sentiments to be sounded concerning a truce ; and, as he did not find him averse to it, he got him and his colleagues to consent that it should be made for five years ; and that the king should have the places on this side the Adda, excepting Lodi. Nothing was more advantageous to France than this truce, which disengaged the king genteelly from a siege so hazardous as that of Pavia, and which left him possessed of the greatest, most fertile, and nearest part of the Milanese to France ; but Bonnivet opposed it.

He ceased not to represent to the king, who was but too ready to stand upon the point of honour, what glory would redound to him from the reduction of so considerable a town. So, without considering the inconvenience of the season and the diminution of the troops, nothing was thought of but the continuance of the siege. All the pope could do, was to make an agreement with the king, whom he thought the stronger party, by making a league offensive and defensive with him, on condition that he should protect

test the holy see, the state of Florence, and the family of Medicis. The treaty was made for the life of the two contracting parties, and was to be kept secret till the pope pleased to discover it. The king, relying on this agreement, conceived new designs.

Though he had occasion for all his men before Pavia, he sent the duke of Albany toward the kingdom of Naples, with 600 horsemen completely armed, and 10,000 foot. He intended thereby either to take that kingdom unprovided, or oblige Lanoi to abandon the Milanese to him. In fact, he was tempted to leave all in order to go and succour the kingdom of Naples, which he was apprehensive of seeing lost, while he was its viceroy; for the pope, after using all his endeavours to divert the king from that expedition, had been obliged to give a passage for our troops, excusing himself to Lanoi the best he could; which did not prevent Pescara from getting it resolved in council to continue the defence of the Milanese, as the chief matter, and send orders to the governors in the kingdom of Naples to hold out as long as they should be able.

The same Pescara was the occasion of their refusing a truce, which the king would not have had it in his power to refuse. It left him the places which he had taken, and sequestered those held by the emperor and duke Sforce, till by the peace the duchy was secured to a second or third son of Francis.



Pescaro prevented that agreement which was too disadvantageous for his master's affairs ; and the pope, on occasion of that refusal, published the treaty which he had made with the king.

This treaty produced great advantages to us. Our powder having fallen short, the duke de Ferrara furnished some of that, and all other necessary stores, and they were conveyed to us through the pope's territories, notwithstanding the complaints of the Imperialists. Another lucky incident happened to the king : Moncade, who had taken Savona, and who having made himself master of the coast of Genoa, was hindering the succours of France that were lying ready at Marseilles, was himself taken by Andreas Doria, and his fleet dispersed. After which, Rance de Ceri joined the duke of Albany beyond the Appenines.

Mean-time the Imperialists were not without hopes, notwithstanding the rigours of the winter. The duke de Bourbon was approaching with five hundred horse and six thousand foot, expecting still greater reinforcements. Lanoi advanced to Lodi, and there assembled his army, consisting of between nineteen and twenty thousand men, among the rest sixteen thousand Spanish and German infantry, some of the best troops in the world. In order to gain time to wait for the duke of Bourbon, they dexterously got in to the place some barrells full of money, and appeased the German foot, who were beginning to mutiny.

At

At last Bourbon arrived with his Germans, and, immediately after, the generals resolved to attack the lines. They intended either to give battle, if they could do it with advantage, or at any rate to force a passage, and recruit the besieged. The difficulty was to get troops to engage, to whom there was no money to be given. They were obliged to use artifice. Pescara persuaded the Spaniards that the Germans wanted to begin the attack, and that they must prevent them. Bourbon excited the Germans by a discourse like that made to the Spaniards; and those two nations marched to battle in emulation of each other; in order to profit of their good dispositions, the generals resolved to incamp at Lodi. They took in their passage the castle of Saint Angelo, a considerable post, which an Italian, whom they had bribed, gave up to them, and came and incamped near our army, which for fifteen days they fatigued by continual skirmishes.

The king began to regret the want of the troops with the duke of Albany, which were only making noise unnecessarily. He had indeed a great army in pay; but, by the negligence of the commanding officers and the avarice of others, his troops were far from being complete. He was forced to recall La Trimouille with a part of the garrison which he had at Milan; but at the same time six thousand Grisons left him, being

ing recalled by their superiors, whom the surprise of one of their fortified places had alarmed. This is what men are exposed to, when they put their confidence in foreigners.

A little after, the king had accounts, that a reinforcement of four thousand men, which was coming to him from Savona, had been defeated in the province of Alexandria by the duke of Milan's cavalry. After so many vexatious accounts, La Trimouille, the generals, all the old officers of the army, and the pope, advised the king to retire without giving battle, and without waiting for the enemy, who were stronger than he. They assured him, that his retreat would not be for a long time, because the enemy's army, being composed of so many foreigners, whom money alone brought together, perceiving it to fail irrecoverably, would be dispersed in fifteen days.

The king, who had so often said, that at any rate he would take Pavia, chose rather to risk his whole army, and his own person, than to draw back. Bonnavet confirmed him in that resolution, saying, that the least step backward would damp the courage of the French, who were wont to be afraid of the enemy if they were not obliged to seek after them, or at least to wait for them. Mean-time, it was true that the Imperialists were in want of money, and that they were in continual fears that their troops would disperse. In order to prevent that



that misfortune, they thought that no time was to be lost, and resolved to attack the night of the twenty-fourth of February, the east of St Matthew, a day which the Imperialists reckoned lucky, because it was that of the birth and election of the emperor.

They marched against our army, which was advantageously posted, intrenched on every side with strong fosses, and defended with forts in the weakest places. The right flank had for a defence, along with deep ditches, the walls of the parks of Mirabel, a pleasure-house of the dukes of Milan. The king was lodged in the park, and so intrenched that he could not be forced. He had resolved in council not to risk his person, and, without going out of his fort, thence to send all the orders where they should be necessary. Moreover, there was no intention to come to a battle, but only to defend the place which the enemy wanted to force. They began to give the alarm, by several false attacks in the quarter most remote from Mirabel, wearing clean shirts on their arms, as a signal to know each other.

Two hours before day, they broke down sixty fathoms of the park-wall, and immediately entered with two thousand carabineers, and some companies of light horse. Their army was divided into four brigades, of which the fourth made up the body of reserve. They had found means to acquaint Antonio de Leya of their intention, and they

gave him the signal on which they had agreed. The attack began with Ferrand de Castriot, marquis de St Angelo, who, supported by three battalions, got to the castle of St Angelo, of which he wanted to take possession, leaving on his left the king, who was too strong to be attacked. Two companies of gens d'armes came out to resist them.

As they had to pass the front of our army, and as our artillery played upon them, and carried off whole files, they lay down on their bellies; but could not avoid our cannon, who had a view of them from an eminence, and they run off in files to get at a little valley which would have sheltered them. Mean-time the marquis de St Angelo lost his best officer, and his brigade appeared to be disconcerted. Pescara came to support him; but Marshal de Chabannes, who commanded the vanguard, making a sally at the same time, beat off a body of Spaniards, whose cannon he nailed up. The duke of Bourbon's brigade was still worse used by the bandes noires, (the black bands), who, having formerly loved him extremely, abhorred him since his rebellion. Our cannon had on all sides a terrible effect, and James de Genouillac, lord of Assier, master of the ordnance, hoped alone to defeat the enemy, when the king, who thought they were giving way, was persuaded that by his appearing he should render the victory undoubted.

He

He therefore stept out of his fort, and unhappily placed himself between our artillery and the enemy. So the cannon was silenced; the fears of the Imperialists being removed, they made head against the king; the light horse immediately beat them off; and the marquis de St Angelo was killed, some say by the king's own hand, but he had no need of dubious or uncertain commendations. At that time the battle was hot, and, amidst the tumult, Pescara brought up 2000 chosen musketers whom he had mounted behind the Spanish cavalry; their fire was terrible, and the French in their turn perceived their ranks thinned. Leva advanced from his post, and took them in the rear; the right wing being twice beat off, was twice rallied by the marshal de Chabannes. At the third onset, all gave way, the marshal's horse was killed under him, and that intrepid old man, being abandoned by his followers, threw himself among the Swiss in order to fight on foot with them. He was taken by an Italian, from whom a Spaniard wanted to carry him off, and rather than leave him in his hands, he killed him.

At the same the duke d'Alençon perceiving the right wing defeated, retired without fighting, with the left wing which he commanded, and went to Lyons, where he died of shame and vexation. His retreat was the loss of the French army; the Swiss whom he was to cover with his cavalry, perceiving that he



he was turning back, thought themselves betrayed and fled. The king, who had lost with them his chief hope, remained with none but the foot, to the number of 4 or 5000, with whom he rushed headlong upon the enemy, but they were soon overpowered by multitudes.

There fell about the king a great many lords, among whom was that great general La Trimouille at the age of seventy-five, after being successful in so many battles. The marquis de St Severin, master of the horse, fallen to the ground mortally wounded, perceived Langei coming to lift him up, and cried to him to go to the king, that for his part he now wanted nothing. Marshal de Foix, being likewise mortally wounded, wanted, before he died, to avenge upon Bonnivet the misfortunes of France; but the enemy had prevented him, and the admiral had fallen dead: all the rest of the lords were taken or slain.

The king having had his horse killed under him, and being wounded in the leg, was fighting on foot, with a handful of men, and would not surrender till Pomperan knowing him, notwithstanding the dust and blood with which some wounds had covered him, he removed the multitude surrounding him, and brought up Lanoi, to whom the king surrendered. The marshal de Montmorenci, who was sent the night before to guard a post, had returned at the noise of the cannon

to serve his master. He came too late for fighting, and only soon enough to accompany him in his confinement.

Among the prisoners were the king of Navarre, the count de St Pol, a prince of the blood, Fleurange, La Roche du Maine, Montpezat, and many others who had signalized themselves in the battle. Trivulce, who commanded at Milan, had no sooner heard this piece of news, than he betook himself to flight with all his men, and the very day of the victory, the Milanese was delivered from all the French.

A prisoner of that consideration falling unexpectedly into the hands of the Imperialists, surprised those who had taken him. His misfortune gained him respect, and the Spaniards who eagerly came to look at him, regretted their not having such a king, and murmured against the emperor, who amidst so many wars remained quietly in his own kingdom, satisfying himself with fighting by his lieutenants.

Pescaro, attended by the principal officers, accosted him with much submission and modesty. The king having received him with an air full of gentleness and majesty, highly commended his valour, though fatal to himself and to his people, and said he believed a man of so much honour would induce the king to use his advantages with moderation. He declared, that, for his part, he did not envy that prince the victories which fortune bestowed,

stowed, but the opportunity of exercising toward a conquered king a generosity becoming two so great princes.

Every body was charmed to see a king of thirty years of age bearing with so much steadiness so great a misfortune. He was always treated like a king, and he on his part abated nothing of his grandeur. The duke de Bourbon having approached him at a supper kneeling to offer him a napkin, some say that he received it out of policy; but most assure us that he refused it with a just disdain, and the last is more suitable to his frank humour and natural stateliness.

Mean time the viceroy was distressed where to confine his prisoner; he could have very much wished that he might have been transported to Naples or to Spain, but durst not adventure to send him thither by sea for fear the king's galleys might carry him off. It seemed likewise dangerous to leave him in Italy, where he foresaw that great cabals would soon be made for his liberation. He did not even think it safe to keep in the army a prince whose behaviour gained every body, and the hopes of making so great a king's escape, whose liberality was so notorious, might tempt the soldiers who were discontented for want of their pay. At last, he resolved to have him speedily carried to Pizzichitone, a strong castle of the Milanese, expecting the emperor's orders, and the insight which time might produce.

The



The news of the defeat and of the king's captivity was soon spread every where; all Italy trembled at it, and was afraid that so complete a victory should soon give it a master. The duke of Albany stopped short, and he who before was threatening Naples, had now no thoughts but of a retreat.

In so terrible a conjuncture, the Venetians were the first to take a vigorous resolution, and proposed to the pope to join them, in order to fall speedily on the Imperialists, whilst their troops were weakened by the late battle, and whilst being themselves surprised with so great a success, they did not yet know what to do in order to profit by it. The pope, moved with their arguments, immediately gave his promise, for the union proposed to him; but the archbishop of Capua, his nuncio, returned at the same time from Lanoi, loaded with fine promises; and the pope, who dreaded every thing from the conquerors, was overjoyed to put an end to his fears by an agreement. He could not persuade the Venetians to engage on the conditions which the viceroy proposed to them; but the rest of Italy followed the pope's example, and even bought peace by large sums which Lanoi employed to pay up the army.

All these things were very quickly done, and were almost related at the same time to the queen-regent with the capture of the king her son. There is no need to say what consternation seized all France, the king taken,  
all

all the generals killed, the flower of the nobility and of the troops cut in pieces, the kingdom alarmed, drained of men and money, the conquerors powerful, Italy reduced to obey them, England united with them, made the queen-regent dread an irruption, and endangered the kingdom.

Add to this her anxiety concerning domestic affairs. She was not beloved, and the chancellor her creature, who was hated to the highest degree, rendered her government odious. She had sent for the princes of the blood, and the governors of the principal provinces, among the rest Charles duke de Vendome, governor of the isle of France and of Picardy, and first prince of the blood, by the death of the duke d'Alençon, and the condemnation of the duke de Bourbon.

That prince, passing through Paris to Lyons, was solicited by the chief persons of the parliament of this city, to take upon him the government, as belonging to him by right, and assured him that Paris, which set the other towns a-going, would acknowledge him; but he perceived the animosities which might arise from such an attempt, and declared, on the contrary, that he would give the example of obedience to the queen-regent. His moderation saved the state, and the regent, who was sensible of its merit, regulated affairs by his advice.

The first thing which he advised was to increase the taxes, a measure indeed vexatious,



tious, but necessary, because the finances were exhausted. The money was employed in raising new troops, with which the queen-regent garrisoned the frontiers. She sent at the same time ships to receive the duke of Albany's army, which Italy was driving away on all sides; and sent dispatches to England, to see whether the emperor's prodigious power might not give some umbrage to Henry. Such was the regulation made of the affairs of the kingdom.

In Spain France was reckoned as already conquered, and nothing was spoken of but universal monarchy; but the more enormously extensive the emperor's designs were, the more moderation did he express. As soon as he got the account, he went and returned thanks to God for it, communicated the day after, and went in procession to the church of Notre-Dame, without Madrid. Moreover, he forbade any kind of rejoicing, saying we ought to rejoice only for victories over infidels. He gave answers in the same strain to the compliments which the ambassadors made him: he even received those of the Venetians kindly, telling them, however, that he did not believe them sincere. In fine, he showed to every body, that he wanted, by giving peace, to make the victory which he in particular had gained common to all Christendom.

His council was divided in opinion concerning what was to be done with the king's person. The bishop of Osma, his confessor,



advised him to gain the king by giving him his liberty, and his sister Eleonora in marriage. He represented to him the immortal fame consequent on so fine an action; whereas the rigour which he might exercise toward his prisoner, would stir up all Europe against him, and would give the Lutherans an opportunity of infecting the rest of Germany.

It is said, that his secretary Gatinar, on the contrary, advised him to keep the king in prison for life, and to make himself sole master of Christendom, in order to oppose to the Turk a greater power than his. The duke of Alba proposed a medium between the two opinions, which was followed by the emperor; and that was, to carry the king to Spain, if possible, and not to release him without extorting from him some provinces, with a large ransom, sufficient to drain France of money.

Upon this advice the emperor sent the count de Bure, son of the count de Reux, to visit the king as from him, and to propose to him these conditions, to yield to him Burgundy, to renounce the sovereignties of Flanders and Artois, and all his claims on Italy, to give Provence to the duke de Bourbon over and above his portion, and to pay to the king of England all that the emperor owed him. Such was the result of that great moderation, and that great desire of peace which the emperor had professed.

The king of England was well aware that there

there would be no moderation in the emperor's councils, and, immediately after the king was taken, had come to a secret resolution to favour France. For though he had at first expressed some satisfaction, and had published his intentions of landing in Picardy, he did so only to please his people, and to fulfil in appearance the alliance which he had made with the emperor.

Cardinal Wolsey was no less well disposed : the emperor, who till that time had kept extremely fair with him, so far as to write to him with his own hand, and to design himself his son in all his letters, quite changed his style after the battle of Pavia ; which nettled the cardinal, and fortified him in his intention of serving France ; so the queen-regent's envoy was kindly received, and an alliance between the two kings was concluded, in which the king of England made it an article, that no part of the kingdom could be dismembered under pretext of the king's redemption.

From that time he only sought a pretext for breaking with the emperor, by proposing to divide the kingdom of France between them ; but as what he chose for himself was incomparably the best, the emperor understood his intention, and would conclude nothing. Immediately the king of England disbanded the army which he was keeping in readiness for landing in France ; and so far from demanding any indemnification from the



queen-regent, he bound himself to assist her with men and money.

Had the queen-regent bethought herself of sending at first to Italy, she might have prevented the treaty with the pope, but her envoy found him already engaged with the viceroy. The affair however remained in some sort suspended, because the emperor refused to ratify some articles, which obliged the pope not to ratify it on his part.

As to the Venetians, whilst they were disputing upon the terms with Lanoi, young Selve, envoy from France, the first president's son, acquainted them of the treaty concluded with England. Immediately they took courage again, and so far from engaging themselves, they recalled Pescaro, who was from them negotiating with Lanoi.

Matters were in that state when the emperor's proposals were brought to Pizzichitone. The king rejected them with a scorn becoming himself, and answered that he had rather die a prisoner, than consent to such shameful proposals. He even said, that he was surprised how provinces could be demanded of him, since beside that he had no inclination to yield up any, he had it not in his power so to do: that the kings of France were bound by their coronation-oath, to alienate nothing belonging to their crown, and that such alienations were null by the fundamental laws of the kingdom.

Instead of those conditions, he offered to restore



restore the duke of Bourbon, and to give him his sister, widow of the duke d'Alençon, to marry queen Eleonora, and to acknowledge the duchy of Burgundy as held in portion with that princess. The hint of this proposal was troublesome, and gave occasion to insist on the alienation of Burgundy. The marshal de Montmorency was let at liberty to go and make along with Bure those proposals to the emperor, by whom the queen-regent caused them to be carried as from the council of France.

Lanoi was in the mean time in great agitations concerning what he should do with his prisoner. It seemed impossible for him to keep him any longer in the Milanese, and he knew not how to do to transport him elsewhere. He was dissident of Bourbon and Pescara, both whom he perceived to be discontented: the one, because the emperor had not as yet performed any article of his treaty; the other, because the county of Carpi had been refused to him, after the battle of Pavia, at a time when he thought nothing could be denied to his services. They complained loudly; and Lanoi, who suspected them of an intention to liberate the king, had no trust to put in the soldiers whom they commanded; so that he durst not even carry Francis to Naples, much less transport him to Spain.

In order to extricate himself out of this difficulty, he used an expedient of which a

man of less abilities than he could never have thought, which was, to insinuate to the king that the shortest course to obtain his liberty was to go and treat of it in Spain. The king relished that design, and judging of the emperor by himself, he thought that he might induce him to an act of generosity if he could see him, and treat with him not as one prince with another, but as one gentleman with another.

When Lanoi had brought him to his point, he proposed to him to lend his own galleys for the voyage, because the emperor had not as many as were sufficient; the king accepted the proposal with joy, believing his liberty already secured. Bourbon and Pescara were to be deceived, and the king concurred in the cheat. He did more: Andrew Doria who commanded the galleys, having brought them according to his orders, had prepared matters to make his escape; thereupon Lanoi declared that they would proceed to extremities, and Francis appeared in order to prevent his own men from liberating him. They were forced to give up the galleys to the Spaniards; after which Francis went on board, and so great a king caused himself to be led in triumph to his enemy, on board his own fleet.

He set out in the beginning of the month of June, the voyage was fortunate, and the king arrived at Barcelona, before the emperor had any accounts of his departure; but  
whilst



whilst Lanoi was rejoicing at having brought to his master such a prisoner, he had like to have lost all. His men mutinied for want of money, to that degree as to shoot at himself. He was with the king at a window, and the ball struck at the place where the king was leaning; but Lanoi had no other method left him of getting away but by climbing from house to house by the gutters. The king himself appeased the soldiers, both by talking to them and giving them money.

The emperor expressed more joy at the king's arrival in Spain, than he had done at making him prisoner. He caused him to be every where honourably received; but he resolved to confine him in the castle of Xativa, in which the kings of Arragon put their state-prisoners. The viceroy got that rigorous order altered; Francis was carried to the castle of Madrid, and had permission to go in the day-time where he pleased attended by his guards.

The emperor refused to see him till every thing was agreed, and Francis, who had come with that expectation, fell into a deep melancholy. The marshal de Montmorenci whom he had sent to the emperor, brought him, by way of consolation, a passport for two months for Margaret, duchess of Alençon, his sister, who was coming to treat about his liberation, with a suspension of arms for the rest of the year.

When the news of the king's departure was



was spread in Italy, a step so surprizing was scarcely believed. It was unaccountable how he had resolved of himself, to render his confinement more secure, and to disappoint all the measures taken by his friends for his liberation; but nothing equalled the astonishment of the duke de Bourbon and the marquis de Pescara: they could not endure Lanoi's deceiving them, by carrying away the king from them, and rendering their fidelity suspicious.

Pescaro complained of this to the emperor with extraordinary vehemence and boldness. He remonstrated to him against the injustice of Lanoi having all the honour of a victory in which he had no share. Bourbon wrote also in the same strain, and added, that the viceroy had occasioned the loss of the fruit of the victory to the emperor, by hindering them, Pescara, and himself, from entering with the victorious army into France, whilst every thing there was in terror and confusion.

Charles answered both with great civility, and wrote to Pescara among other things, that the service which Lanoi had done him in bringing him the king of France, did not hinder him from acknowledging that which Pescara himself had performed by the victory of Pavia, of which Lanoi did not envy him the glory. To these civil words considerable gratifications were added; but all did not satisfy the ambitious spirit of Pescara. He was extremely vexed to see the actions of his enemy

enemy approved, and his resentment broke out in transports over all Italy.

Moron, who was soon informed of it, conceived at the same time a grand scheme against the emperor, into which he expected to bring Pescara; he wanted to persuade him to cut in pieces all the Spaniards who were in the Milanese, and to get himself declared king of Naples. He proposed the matter to the pope and to the Venetians, as from the duke of Milan, and in concert with him. They clearly understood that the emperor was wanting to make himself master of that duchy, which was insupportable to them; for they no more wanted to have the Spaniards there than the French; so that they consented to the proposals which Moron engaged to make to the marquis.

He addressed him therefore, by telling him that he was born an Italian; and that it was reserved for him to set his country at liberty; that if all Italy had made so many efforts for the expulsion of the French, it was not to deliver themselves up to the Spaniards, and that if he inclined to expel these last, means should be put in his hands to make himself king of Naples,

Pescaro heard the proposal, and demanded only by whom it was made; whereupon Moron got him assured by the ministers of the pope and of the Venetians, that their masters were in the plot. He then showed him, that the investiture of Naples, granted to Charles  
by



by the holy see, was null, as having been given to an emperor, against the fundamental laws of infeudation; and, upon Pescara's objecting, that as a Neapolitan he had sworn fidelity to the emperor, it was answered, that he was rather to obey the holy see, to whom the absolute sovereignty belonged, than the emperor who held of that see.

The marquis appeared satisfied with these answers, and a treaty was resolved upon between him, the pope, the Venetians, and Moron, who acted for Duke Sforce. The thing was carried into France to the duchess d'Angouleme, who entered into the confederacy, being irritated with the new difficulties which the emperor started to the liberation of the king her son, since he had him in Spain. The duke of Milan falling sick at the same time, the execution of the treaty was deferred, and Pescara continued to hear all.

The king was seized at the same time with a dangerous distemper, occasioned by his grief at being disappointed in his expectations of liberation, and by the emperor's harsh perseverance not to see him. The extreme danger to which the king was reduced, made him alter his resolution. The emperor knew the cause of his disease, and judging that his presence would prove his best remedy, he was so much afraid of losing him, without being able to profit of his capture, that he resolved to make him a visit. The emperor  
came



came post from Toledo to Madrid, and, after exhorting the king to take care of his health, he gave him his promise to restore him to liberty as soon as he should recover.

This conversation restored him to life, and the duchess d'Alençon arriving at the same time, she assisted much to re-establish his health; but in proportion as he recovered his strength, the negotiation became more intricate, and the emperor's ministers proposed always new difficulties. Mean-time, as the giving the princess, who had been promised to the duke of Bourbon, was in agitation, decency did not permit the emperor to proceed further without the knowledge of that prince; so that he wrote him with his own hand, in order to invite him to come to Spain. He set out as soon as he received that letter; and a little after the duke of Milan, who had just recovered his health, perceived himself exposed to lose his duchy entirely.

The emperor had been acquainted with the conspiracy, and Pescara himself had given him the information of it; but it is doubted whether he did so of his own accord, or only because he understood he had been acquainted of it otherwise. It is said, that Leva having entertained a suspicion of the frequent conversations of Moncade with the marquis, found means to seize Montebona, the pope's minister, who was never seen afterward; and that he discovered the conspiracy by the papers which he intercepted.

It

It is added, that the queen-regent, being grieved that Senti the Venetian minister, who was carrying back the papers, had been killed by robbers, gave orders to reveal all to the emperor, lest under that pretext he might treat the king more harshly; and for that reason it was that Pescara on his side informed his master, as he was afraid of being prevented.

However that be, the emperor either believed, or pretended to believe that Pescara had listened to the proposals only to get the secret from the confederates; and it is certain that he did not seem to diminish his confidence; he acted on the contrary, as being obliged to the marquis for giving him an opportunity of seizing the dominions of the duke of Milan, whom he was convicting of felony.

So he commanded him to seize Moron, and sent him a commission of governor of Milan, with orders to make himself master of it. It was no hard matter to secure the chancellor, who had no diffidence; he came chearfully to Novara, whither Pescara had sent for him, under pretext of concluding the treaty, and was immediately put into prison. After that Pescara easily surpris'd all the fortified towns in the Milanese, and entering Milan he obliged all the people to take an oath of fidelity to the emperor.

The duke had only remaining the castle of Cremona, and that of Milan, in which he  
shut



shut himself up with only eight hundred men; but with a resolution which Pescara little expected. All Italy was alarmed at so open an usurpation. The Venetians, who now no longer expected to make a solid agreement with the queen-regent, since Francis had incapacitated himself for profiting of their assistance, were upon the point of an accommodation with the emperor.

That invasion suspended the treaty, and the pope himself, notwithstanding his preceding engagements, inclined now no longer to peace with the emperor, if he did not restore Duke Sforce. Mean-time the duke de Bourbon arrived at the court of Spain, where he was very well entertained by Charles; but he was abhorred by all the grandees to that degree, that the emperor having demanded from one of them his house to lodge him in, he answered, that the emperor might dispose of every thing; but that he should set fire to his house as soon as the duke were gone out of it, and should never stay there after a traitor had lodged in it.

The negotiation for the king's liberation was continued, but did not advance. Provinces were still demanded of him; and that prince, expecting no longer any reasonable terms, sent back his sister, with orders to tell his mother not to think any longer of him, but only on the welfare of the kingdom, and to crown the dauphin.

The duchess set out some time after in a



very great hurry, being secretly warned, that the emperor wanted to over-reach her, because the time of her passport was about to expire. It is thought it was the duke de Bourbon who gave her this information, being enamoured of that beautiful princess, whom the king proposed to give him in marriage. However that be, she came in one day into the territories of the king of Navarre, much about the same time that that prince had escaped out of the hands of the Spaniards, leaving in his place one of his pages whom he had put into his bed.

By the departure of the duchess, matters remained in the management of the ambassadors, whom the queen-regent had sent along with her. Italy was in the mean time delivered from great terror by the death of Pescara, which happened in the beginning of December. He gave orders when a-dying to set Moron at liberty, being ashamed of having imprisoned a man who had come upon his word. He was too late in thinking of doing him that piece of justice, and his orders remained unexecuted. So soon as the emperor was informed of that death, he destined for the duke de Bourbon, the command of his armies in Italy, and made a show of intending to make him duke of Milan. Here is what induced him to that design, or to that piece of dissimulation.

He had embarrassed himself between two treaties,

treaties, which he was pressed to conclude. The pope and the Italians demanded the restoration of Sforce, who were ready to come to an agreement with France if he refused it. On the other side, the ambassadors of France had gone so far as to yield Burgundy. It seemed the king had no longer any anxiety about the matter, and said openly, that if it were intended that he should keep the terms, none but what were equitable should be stipulated.

This saying was reported to the emperor, who was nowise vexed at it, because he thought he had it in his power to keep the king bound by the sufficient hostages, which he should take when he should set him at liberty; so the difficulty consisted, according to him, only in determining with whom it was proper to treat. The Spanish ministers were of opinion, that it was with the Italians; Lannoi and the Flemings, overjoyed to see reunited in the person of Charles the whose succession of the family of Burgundy, inclined that he should conclude with the king.

Both maintained, that their opinion was the best for rendering the king master of Italy. The Spaniards pretended, if he detained the king in prison, neither Sforce, nor the pope, nor the Venetians, would be any great obstacle to him. The Flemings said, on the contrary, that provided the king abandoned Italy to him, by a sufficient treaty, it would be no difficulty for him to conquer it.



The emperor determined on the last measure, as he could not bring himself to restore Sforce, for fear he should be obliged to release Moron at the same time. He was afraid of that cunning old man, who set all Italy in commotion, and he rather chose to liberate the king than him. But first he called for Bourbon, and told him that he intended to have made him duke of Milan, by consent of the Italians; but that they were pertinaciously bent to keep by Sforce; that, however, in spite of them, he would give him that rich duchy. In order to be in a condition to do so, he told him that he must liberate the king of France; and as he could not do so without giving him his sister in marriage, he asked his consent to the match.

The duke gave it without difficulty, chiefly on account of his secret passion for the duchess d'Alençon; in order to conceal this from the emperor, he begged him only not to be present at the espousals. The emperor sent him to Italy, in the place of Pescara, and a few days after he concluded with the ambassadors of France.

The terms agreed on the 14th of February were, that there should be a perpetual friendship between the two princes; that the king should be set at liberty on the 10th of the month of March, and delivered on the frontiers of his own dominions; that the 20th of April following he should deliver to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy with all its dependencies,



pendencies, absolutely independent of the sovereignty of France; that at the same instant that the king should be liberated, the dauphin and the second son of France, or the dauphin alone with twelve of the principal lords of the kingdom, who are named in the treaty, should go into Spain as hostages; that the king should renounce the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and his rights to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and some places in the Low Countries, which are named; that the marriage of the king with Eleonora the emperor's sister should be performed in France; and that the daughter of that princess by the king of Portugal should be betrothed to the dauphin, when they should be of age; that the king should abandon Henry d'Albret, king of Navarre, and his other allies; that there should be a defensive league between the two princes for three years; and that when the emperor should go to Italy to get himself crowned, the king should lend and maintain for him for three months a certain number of ships; that the king should restore to the duke de Bourbon all his states and effects confiscated, without obliging him to return to France: that he should grant an amnesty to all the French who may have followed him, and should agree with him upon arbiters within forty days to judge of the claims which that prince had to Provence: that he should pay for the emperor the 500,000

écus \*, due by him to the king of England ; and that the two princes should petition the pope to assemble a general council to exterminate heresies, and unite the Christian princes against the infidels.

The king was obliged to swear, that he would return to his prison, if he failed in the execution of these articles ; but no person in Spain thought that terms so iniquitous could be performed, and Gatinara, the emperor's chancellor, reckoned that treaty in every shape so scandalous to his master, that he refused to sign and seal it, though he had strict orders to do it. After that treaty, the two princes were often and long together in private and in public. They went several times out together an-*airing*, and to Queen Eleonora's. The espousals were celebrated with suitable solemnity ; as for the rest, the king remained with his usual guard, till the time mentioned in the treaty, and till the ratification of the queen-regent was arrived.

All this time the emperor was negotiating with the pope to endeavour to get him to accept Bourbon as duke of Milan, in case Sforce were found guilty, or should happen to die ; but the pope would never have any thing to do with a prince whose rebellion rendered him irreconcilable with the king, and absolutely dependent on the emperor.

[\* About 62,500 l. reckoning, as at present, eight écus equal to a pound Sterling.]



The queen-regent had no sooner accounts of the conclusion of a treaty, than she set out with her two grandsons to receive the king. She was not long in determining herself upon the alternative given her for the hostages: for notwithstanding her very tender affection for Henry her second grandson, whose chearful humour diverted her, she chose rather to leave him than the twelve lords who were the principal strength of the kingdom.

On the first accounts of her departure, the king advanced to Fontarabia. The queen-regent arrived at Bayonne the 16th of March, two days before the exchange was to be made. At last, on the day appointed, which was the 18th of that month, Lautrec with the two princes came to the banks of the river Andaye. The king went on board a bark, attended by Lanoi, and eight armed men. At the same time the two princes were sent off with an equal number of men.

An empty bark had been made fast in the middle of the river, into which from either side they were to come at the same time. The king went into the bark where the princes were, and at the same the princes went into the bark where the king was. So soon as he got on shore, he mounted a Turkish horse, and hurried to St Jean de Luz, whence he soon arrived at Bayonne. He was there received by the queen-regent his mother, and by all the court, with a joy which cannot be expressed.

The



The first thing that he did there was to write with his own hand to the king of England, to give him information of his liberation, which he believed was owing to his good offices, assuring him that thenceforward he should do nothing without his advice. Lanoi and the emperor's other ambassadors had orders to follow him as far as Bayonne, to get him to ratify the treaty in a free place. He said, that he could not dismember any part of his kingdom without consent of the states-general, who had more interest in its preservation, than he who had only the usufruct of it. He added, that he must likewise more particularly know the sentiments of his subjects of Burgundy; that he should, as soon as possible, hold the necessary assemblies for that purpose, and should acquaint the emperor with the answer.

From Bayonne he went to Cognac, where he staid some time. There he met with envoys from the pope and the Venetians, who were coming to wish him joy on his liberty. Those of the pope had orders, if they found the king doubtful what to do, to insinuate to him the methods of contravening his treaty; but if he were disposed to do so of himself, to hear what he should say to them. The Venetians had given similar instructions to their minister, with this difference, that they were to speak more freely.

They had no difficulty in discovering the king's sentiments. He complained loudly of  
the

the emperor's inhumanity, and declared that the oath which he had been forced to take in his confinement could not break that which he had taken at his coronation, never to alienate any thing belonging to his crown; that he had plainly told this to the emperor; and that he was surprised that that prince, after the declaration which he had made to him, should have imposed terms not only iniquitous, but impossible. He then proposed to the pope and the Venetians a league which should be founded on the liberation of his two sons, and the expulsion of the Spaniards out of Italy, declaring to them that he wanted to lay no claims to the duchy of Milan, but only to support Sforce in it.

Lanoi came to him at Cognac from the emperor, to know his ultimate resolution concerning the execution of the treaty. He had held, for form's sake, an assembly of the nobles or chief persons of the kingdom, who had answered that it was not in his power to dismember his kingdom. The states of Burgundy declared that they would not submit to a foreign dominion, and that the king could not force them to do so. He gave this answer to Lanoi, and added, however, that if the emperor would be satisfied with two millions of gold \* in place of Burgundy,

[\* According to Furetiere a million of gold is equal to three millions of livres: so that the two millions here mentioned, at the present rate of twenty-four livres for a guinea, would amount to 262,500 l. Sterling.]



he was ready to perform the rest of the treaty.

While these things were negotiating, Antonio de Leva so pressed the castle of Milan, that Sforce was obliged to declare to the pope and the Venetians, that if he were not speedily succoured, he should be forced to surrender. This obliged those two powers to hasten their agreement with France; and the emperor having discharged the Spaniards to carry their suits to Rome, that was a new reason which provoked the pope against him; but the king did not conceal from them, that he was still waiting for an answer from Charles.

It is a strange thing that he had not foreseen Francis's reply to his ambassadors, though his Spanish council had often represented to him that that treaty, which he thought so advantageous, was nothing but an illusion. He was obstinately bent on having Burgundy, and was so vexed at being disappointed, that for the first time he sacrificed his interest to his vengeance. He sent Moncade to give the pope his own terms, with orders however to go into France to know whether Lanoi had lost all expectation of getting Burgundy.

So soon as he understood there were no hopes, he went and executed his commission with the pope, whom he found resolved to conclude with France. An intercepted letter of Leva had persuaded him that the affairs of the Imperialists were past remedy. So Lanoi had the vexation to hear proclaimed the league between the pope, the king, and the Venetians,



Venetians, on condition of preserving Sforce, and of liberating the sons of France, on a ransom, of which the king of England should be arbiter. Francis reserved for himself in Italy only Genoa and the county of Ast, an ancient inheritance of his ancestors. He was to assist the confederates with men and money, and the kingdom of Naples was to remain in the pope's disposal, with some reservations for the king of England and Cardinal Wolsey. At the same time they were contriving to raise the siege of the castle of Milan, and to retake the town.

The populace, ruined with extortions, were ready to take redress, and Moncade had not quieted the army by the small sums which he had distributed to the men, but expedition was necessary, and the confederates proceeded slowly. They were pretty long in ratifying the articles of agreement, and the king in the mean time would do nothing. The duke d'Urbino, appointed general by the Venetians, would not march till he had at least 5000 Swiss of those which the pope was getting raised. Those levies were thwarted by the king's ministers, who thought they were making for the emperor; for the pope concealed his name and concern, from an apprehension that the king might think him too much engaged, and might neglect to satisfy him.

In these delays the opportunity of retaking Milan was lost. The populace, not being able to endure the outrages of the Spaniards, made

made a new effort to get rid of them, but, being destitute of assistance, they were worsted and disarmed. The inhabitants of Lodi succeeded better in their design of surrendering to the confederates. The duke d'Urbino and Guicciardini the historian, who commanded the ecclesiastical troops, came very opportunely before that place, into which they were received without any difficulty. At last the duke d'Urbino, after many delays, resolved to attack Milan by the suburbs. He was prevented by the duke of Bourbon, who took possession of the place with 800 Spanish foot.

That prince, after leaving the emperor's court, had long amused himself at Barcelona, and the king had promised that his galleys should hinder his passage. The confederates made heavy complaints that he had not kept his word. It was loudly said, that he had a great spirit, and thoughts becoming himself, but that his pleasures frequently made him neglect his affairs, which were lost for want of dispatch.

The arrival of Bourbon prevented the success of the attack which the duke d'Urbino intended. He made a second attempt which succeeded no better; and in the mean time Sforce, who had in the castle only one day's provisions, was obliged to capitulate. There was scarce any probability that he should make a tolerable treaty, in the extremity to which his affairs were reduced; but Philip Salo, whom he



he sent on the negotiation, having discovered that the Imperialists dreaded the confederates, made a very reasonable capitulation. He kept his master in the castle of Cremona, which held out for him. Money was given him for the subsistence of his troops, and Como for his retreat, till his trial was ended. It was also agreed that this treaty should not prejudice the rights of his family to the duchy of Milan. This agreement was concluded the 23d of July, 1526.

Sforce prepared to go to Como, but he wanted to be master there. The Spaniards having no inclination to draw their garrison out of it, he retired to Lodi, where he ratified the league. Every body was surprised at the joy which the duke d'Urbino showed on account of the surrender of the castle. He exaggerated the danger that there might be in succouring a place so closely besieged, though others more resolute than he did not find the matter so difficult. He expressed an inclination to blockade Milan; and till the Swiss should come, he sent some troops to lay siege to the city of Cremona. If he was slack in his operations, the king was not hasty in his; he expected to get back his sons from the Spaniards rather by amicable methods than by force.

The pope, being discouraged, caused an offer of the duchy of Milan to be made to him, if he would send an army against the kingdom of Naples. The king demanded



permission to raise from the clergy of France a tenth of their yearly revenues. Whilst these things were negotiating, nothing went forward. There came however at last to the duke d'Urbino 13,000 Swiss, which Francis sent to him. He did not for all that attack Milan, which however had been easily taken on account of the weakness of the garrison, and he carried all the troops to the siege of Cremona, which till that time was very unsuccessful.

Mean-time the French fleet, commanded by Peter de Navarre, took Savona, and made itself mistress of all the western coast \*; then joining that of the Venetians and that of the pope, it so closely shut up by sea the entry to Genoa, that 4000 men attacking it on the land-side might have reduced it; but the duke d'Urbino thought of nothing but the siege of Cremona, which in fact was forced to surrender.

At the same time the pope was very much perplexed by the treachery of the Colonna. They were attached to the emperor, and the eldest son of that family was hereditary constable of Naples. That prince's ministers instigated that powerful family against the pope, who was the stronger party, but he was not able to be guarded against a surprise. Vespasian Colonna, who was the most agreeable man alive, and who seemed to be the

[\* Toute la riviere du Ponent.]

most sincere, so thoroughly persuaded the pope of his good intentions for his service, that he made him disband his army.

When the Colonna saw him perfectly secure, they took possession of all the passages, and having in that manner prevented any accounts from coming to Rome, they arrived there in the night-time, with 6000 men, who seized three gates, and entered the city, being conducted by the emperor's agents, and by Cardinal Pompey Colonna.

The pope in his first surprise saw nothing else that he could do but sit down in St Peter's chair, in his pontifical robes, and there wait for death; and it was with difficulty that he complied with the request of the cardinals, who pressed him to retire to the castle of St Angelo. In that conjuncture it was easy for Montcade to obtain from him a truce, by obliging him to recall his land-army and fleet, and to pardon the Colonna.

The emperor's affairs were nevertheless in a bad situation: the troops, who were in want of money, exhausted the patience of the populace by horrible inhumanities; so he gave ear to the proposals made by the king of England, but in the mean time he was equipping a strong fleet which Lanzi was to command, and, with his secret approbation, Frontberg was raising 14,000 Germans: he said he was going to assist his son, who was blockaded in Milan. The king of England allowed himself to be amused by negotiations,



and Francis, who flattered himself with hopes of an accommodation, thought of nothing but his diversions.

Sultan Soliman, emperor of the Turks, was not an unconcerned spectator of the divisions of the Christians, without profiting by them. He found in those which troubled Hungary in particular, a fine opportunity of partitioning that kingdom. Their young king Louis had fallen in a rebellion, in which the flower of the nobility were killed, and afterward the Low Country ravaged by the Turks. To complete their misfortunes, the Hungarians were divided in the election which they were then obliged to make of a king.

Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, who pretended to have a right to the kingdom by Anne his wife, sister of the last king, was acknowledged by a part of the nobility, and John de Zapol, Waivode of Transilvania, elected by the other, was obliged by his weakness to put himself under the protection of the Turk; so that unfortunate kingdom was at the same time torn by two powerful factions, and exposed as a prey to the common enemy.

The pope knew not what to do amidst so much confusion; sometimes he was desirous to go and visit all the Christian princes, in order to confederate them against the Turks; sometimes he deliberated about throwing himself into the arms of the emperor, and then



then turning diffident of a prince who conducted his own affairs with such profound dissimulation, he remained irresolute.

The Colonna, who perceived they were supported, disquieted him in the midst of his country, and gained several advantages over him. There was but little resource in the forces of the confederates. The marquis de Saluces, who commanded the French army, had very few men. The duke d'Urbino, general of the Venetians, hated the Medicis as much as the pope, who was bent upon stripping him of his dominions: and he followed no plan. He began to blockade Milan, and then he gave up that enterprise, under pretext of opposing the Germans, who were marching towards Mantua.

Matters went on in this way till toward the end of November, and nothing hindered the Germans from joining the duke of Bourbon in the Milaneze. He had just liberated Moron, who was condemned to lose his head, and who had redeemed himself with 20,000 ducats. That able courtier had so artfully insinuated himself into the duke de Bourbon's favour, that he became first the counsellor in highest confidence with him, and afterward his absolute governor.

The duke was at that time courted by both sides. The emperor seemed inclinable to give him the duchy of Milan, and the king would not consent to a truce, which the emperor offered to the confederates, unless Bour-

bon got possession of it. He sent thither secretly one of the queen-mother's almoners, to negotiate with him; but Moron represented to him, that these two princes equally deceived him; that France would always use him as a rebel, and that the queen-mother would never consent to restore to him the territories of which she had stripped him; that there were indeed finer appearances, but not more solidity in the emperor's offers; since, though he pretended to make him duke of Milan, he in fact hindered him from entering any place with a superior force. What was still more, he left him without money, being forced, in order to get any, to be guilty of insufferable extortion, and exposed to the fury of the oppressed populace, or the mutinous soldiery.

Thereupon he proposed to him a method which he said was the only one of securing his fortune; which was, to bribe his own troops and the Germans to make him king of Naples, where he would find no resistance, and in which all Italy would be overjoyed to support him, in order to be freed from the Spanish yoke. It is said, that the duke, reckoning the bad state of his affairs irretrievable, hearkened to that advice, and that he went and joined the Germans with that intention. They were in the country of Placentia, with a design of making themselves masters of the capital of that name; but the duke d'Urbino was in the country, with the marquis de Saluces, who had thrown some men into the



the city ; so that Bourbon, perceiving it so well provided, durst not attack it.

Mean-time the pope and Lanoi intermingled with their negotiations continual attempts against each other. The count de Vaudemont, of the family of Lorraine, who commanded the pope's army, took possession of the territories of the Colonna, and entered the kingdom of Naples. His progress was interrupted by a truce. Some time after the viceroy besieged Frusino, a strong place in the territories of the church. The pope promised 150,000 écus \* to obtain a truce for three years, for himself and the Venetians. Whilst the accounts of this were carrying to Venice, and the senate's consent was expected, Rence de Ceri, one of the generals of the ecclesiastical army, obliged the viceroy to raise the siege.

The pope, overjoyed with that success, resolved with William de Langei, a general officer in the French army, to attack the kingdom of Naples. Salerno revolted, Rence de Ceri took Aquila, and some other places of Abruzzo ; Naples was in want of provisions ; and had Francis furnished the money that he had promised out of the tenth which the pope had granted, all that kingdom had been in hazard ; but Rence de Ceri was forced, for want of money, to abandon the enterprise, and to retire to Rome. At that time the pope quite lost courage, and gave Lanoi 50,000

[\* About 18,750 l. Sterling.]



écus\*, for a truce of eight months; but that did not secure him against Bourbon, who had his own private views, and all the emperor's forces under his command.

His army consisted of between thirty and forty thousand well-disciplined men. The Germans, who had got but one ducat each in their own country, and two or three at most in Italy, nevertheless engaged in the country, in expectation of pillage. Bourbon, who had spent all the money he could get, either upon his credit, or by extortion, had given up to them even his silver plate: he then marched his army toward Tuscany, with an intention to plunder Florence, or Rome itself.

The pope in the mean time feared nothing: hostilities had ceased on the side of Naples, and the viceroy had come to Rome; which had so encouraged him, that he disbanded all his army, excepting 200 horse and 2000 foot. Upon the news of the truce, the duke d'Urbino had ordered the Venetian troops to repass the Po; and the ecclesiastical state had remained defenceless, had not Guicciardini persuaded the marquis de Saluces to guard it with the few men that he had.

In vain was the truce notified to the duke de Bourbon, and money promised to him to cease hostilities on his march. He had so little the command of his men, that it was with difficulty that the gentlemen sent to him by Langei could find admittance. Lanoi

[\* About 7500 l. Sterling.]

came to Bologna personally to converse with him; but the duke failed in keeping the appointment; and though he promised to the pope to accept the truce, he continued his march, hurried by distress, and dragged along by his men, who were anxiously greedy of plunder, and no longer kept any measures.

There were no hopes but in the duke d'Urbino; and Guicciardini did all in his power to bring the pope to give him satisfaction. He found him implacable; and the duke, being provoked, instead of getting before Bourbon, whom he might have stopped, being master of the country, was satisfied with following him in the rear. Bourbon marched straight to Florence, upon the information which he had received of the city's revolting against the Medicis, under whose dominion the pope had anew reduced it.

The resolution of the Florentines to shake off the yoke, raised the expectations of the duke de Bourbon, that, amidst those divisions, he might be able to surprise the city, and give it up to be plundered. But Langei, having information of the attempt, acquainted the marquis de Saluces of it, and pointed out a road to him by which he might prevent the Imperialists. The marquis forced the duke d'Urbino to join him, and they both arrived in the neighbourhood of Florence long before the duke de Bourbon.

That prince, desperately vexed at missing his aim, found no other method of comfort-  
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ing his men, but by proposing to them to plunder Rome. This proposal was received by the loud acclamations of the whole army, especially of the body of Germans, whom Fronsberg, a keen Lutheran, had composed of men of his own sect.

Langei set out at the same time to acquaint the pope of that intention; but could never move him, as he was firmly persuaded that the truce was a full security to him. Never could Rence de Ceri prevail with him to raise any troops, till he was informed, that Bourbon was marching without artillery, and without baggage, with such expedition, that he always arrived sooner than he was expected. The pope had now no other course to take than to shut himself up in the castle of St Angelo, and Rence de Ceri, assisted by Langei, hastily raised 2000 men of very sorry troops, to defend the city, till it should be succoured by the confederates. He thought himself so certain of having the necessary time, that he would not allow the bridges to be broke down; and in the mean time the duke de Bourbon arriving in the neighbourhood of Rome, on the 5th of May 1527, summoned the pope to give him a passage into the city, in his way to the kingdom of Naples.

The day after, an unforeseen accident obliged him to make the assault. An ensign of the garrison wanted to make his escape out at the breach, and having in his flight met



met the enemy, he returned back ; he was followed, the breach was discovered, and the duke de Bourbon, resolved to force the city in that place, marched at the head of his men. He was brought to the ground by the first musket-shot, and expired. The prince of Orange, who was close by him, caused his body to be covered, that the ardour of the men might not be discouraged. The duke de Bourbon's treason eclipses all his virtues, and makes his misfortunes be the less compassionated.

The pope, who was resolved to make his escape out of the castle of St Angelo, began to breathe when he heard of Bourbon's death ; but his affairs succeeded no better on that account. Philibert de Chalon, prince of Orange, took the command of the army, and that very day the city was taken by assault. There was no cruelty nor insolence left unpractised by the Germans, and by the Spaniards, as outrageous as they, even to dragging through the streets prelates and cardinals, and those too of their own nation, vested in their pontificals, for the greater derision.

The loss occasioned by the plunder was inestimable, and there was no distress unsuffered by Rome, except burning. There came succours from Florence, but too late, the city was already taken. The army of the confederates was advancing, and the duke d'Urbino had orders from the Venetians to hazard every

every thing to disengage the pope ; he however did not do it ; and, pretending to be too weak, he retired, without so much as giving a hearing to the pope, who intreated him to wait some days, that he might have an opportunity to make a capitulation. So an army of above fifteen thousand foot remained useless.

The viceroy came to Rome at the Pope's intreaty, and, thinking to get the command, he found the prince of Orange already established by the soldiers, but without authority. They could not be forced away from the plunder, and the pope remained several days in the castle of St Angelo in great terror. How frightful was it for him to be exposed to the fury of the Germans ! at last he made an accommodation : Rence de Ceri and Langei likewise capitulated, and left the place with their arms and baggage ; but hard conditions were imposed on the pope.

These were to pay immense sums at several very short terms, and to surrender the castle of St Angelo, the fortress of Ostia, and several other places, as a security to his enemies. He was to remain prisoner in the castle of St Angelo till the first payment, and afterward to be transported to Gaeta or to Naples, there to wait the emperor's resolution. The pope, not being able to find the money which he had promised, remained prisoner in the castle of St Angelo, in the keeping of the  
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the same Spaniards who had guarded Francis in his confinement. The soldiers in the mean time were continuing to ransack and pillage Rome, which was two full months at their mercy. Most of the towns yielded by the pope, would not surrender. The Venetians took possession of Ravenna and some other places, in name of the league.

At Florence, the cardinal de Cortona, who commanded there in the pope's name, delivered up the government to the people, and went to Lucca. The Florentines restored popular magistrates, and broke down the statues of the Medicis. When the emperor got accounts of the pillaging of Rome, he put in practice his usual dissimulation. He said that Bourbon and Fronsberg had acted without his orders: he even commanded solemn processions to be made in Spain for the pope's liberation. In this manner he amused the populace, and in the mean time was holding secret councils for having the pope transported to Spain; but the kings of France and England, who had resolved to act against the emperor more effectually than ever, after the pope's detention, were still more strictly united together, and in conjunction with the Venetians.

The king of England obstinately persisted in inclining to have Lautrec made general of the confederacy, contrary to the opinion of Francis, who reckoned him a general as imprudent as unfortunate, and, contrary even



to that of Lautrec himself, who expected no good success, amidst so great profusion as Francis laid out in unnecessary expenses. In order to concert the methods of executing the schemes of the two kings, Cardinal Wolsey, archbishop of York, came to Calais with a retinue more than royal; and the two kings coming to Amiens, it was agreed that a message should be sent from them, offering peace to the emperor, if he would give up the king's sons for two millions of écus \*; if he would set the pope and his country at liberty, and put Italy in the same state in which it was before Charles VIII. entered the Milanese; but the emperor refused those terms, and the peace was confirmed by oath between the two kings the 8th of August 1527.

A short time after, Lautrec, though he had but the half of his army, entered Italy, where he took le Bosco, a strong fortification in the Milanese, near to Alexandria. A little after, the city of Genoa, being extremely incommoded by the continual captures made by Andrew Doria, and the French galleys, returned to their obedience to the king; and Lautrec, after receiving their oath of fidelity, took Alexandria, which the confederates obliged him to restore to the duke of Milan. He likewise restored to him Vigevano; then passing the Tessin, he marched straight to Mi-

[\* About 250,000 l. Sterling, reckoning, as at present, eight écus equal to a pound.]

lan; but being informed, that it had got some succours, he turned short upon Pavia, which he besieged on the side of the castle, as the Venetian army did on the other side.

The French, who were very ardently desirous to take that town, in order to blot out the shame of the battle of the Park, overhastily made the attack without orders, before the breach was practicable, and they were repulled. The day after, the battery having performed its part, Lautrec carried the town by assault, and had difficulty to hinder it from being reduced to ashes; but he could neither prevent its being plundered, nor the cruelties committed by the soldiers, in revenge for the capture of Francis, and for the loss of the greatest men of France.

About the same time, Alphonso duke of Ferrara acceded to the league. Lautrec gained him, by promising to get restored to him all that he had possessed, and to cause to be given in marriage to Hercules d'Este, his eldest son, Renée, daughter of Louis XII. In the state in which matters then were, it was no hard matter to get Sforce re-established in the whole Milanese, and even to take Milan, which was reduced to extremity, without a possibility of its being succoured by Antonio de Leva, who was destitute of men and money. But the pope's legate wanted that every thing should be left, in order to march straight towards Rome to set his master at liberty, and Lautrec resolved to comply with



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his earnest intreaties. His march, and the menaces of the king of England, who was preparing to enter the Low Countries, at last obliged the emperor to treat of the pope's liberation, which was concluded on the 8th of October, on condition that he should never do any thing contrary to the emperor's interest. More than six hundred thousand ducats \* were exacted of him, and he was forced to give hostages in security for the payment, together with some fortresses.

The emperor pretended not to have any share in that scandalous resolution of setting a ransom upon the common father of Christendom, who was seized contrary to a truce; and it was said, that so great sums were demanded of him only to satisfy the army. Moron advised the pope to sign all, provided he were brought out of the castle of St Angelo, where he was exposed to all sorts of distress, even to the pestilence, which, after infecting the city, soon seized those in the castle; for though he had given hostages, his person was detained till he had made payment.

At last the Spaniards, being ashamed of his detention, and dreading the approach of the French army, which was advancing towards the kingdom of Naples, received an order from the emperor to set the pope at liberty.

[About 276,500 l. Sterling, reckoning the ducat, as at present, 9 s. 6 d.]

But that pontiff, apprehensive of new difficulties, being alarmed by General Moncade, disguised himself like a merchant, and the Spanish cavalry conducted him to Orvieto, into which he entered without any retinue, on the 9th of December at night. He was forced to pay his ransom, of which the Spaniards shared as well as the Germans; and, in order to procure money, he consented to sell a cardinal's hat.

As soon as he was set at liberty, Lautrec marched from Bologna, where he had lost much time, in order to enter the kingdom of Naples with an army of thirty thousand men. A treaty was on foot all that time for a general peace, which now was stopped, only because Francis wanted, that as soon as he should give hostages for withdrawing his troops out of Italy, the emperor should restore his sons. On the contrary, the emperor wanted that the king should withdraw his troops; and he undertook to give hostages to the king of England. Nothing could conquer the diffidence of those two princes, and at last the two kings declared war against the emperor by a herald.

They recalled their ambassadors. The emperor retained the king's ambassador in Spain, and the king did the same by the emperor's. The declaration of war was made on the 21st of January. As Lautrec was making extraordinary progress in the kingdom of Naples, and the towns were surrendering to



him as soon as he came within twenty or thirty miles of them, the Imperialists, under the command of the prince of Orange, marched to oppose him, and Lautrec always beat them off, in order to bring them to a battle. At last they retired, partly into Naples, and partly into Gaeta, which were the only places they kept in the whole kingdom; and it is remarked, that all those plunderers, enriched by so many sacrileges, perished almost entirely in less than a year's time. The pestilence carried off in Rome more than two thirds of them, and scarcely did two hundred escape in the series of that war.

Instead of pursuing the remains of that unfortunate army, Lautrec amused himself with taking Melfe, a town of the kingdom of Naples, whose prince was made prisoner. Mean-time the emperor having released the French ambassador, Francis wanted also to return Anthony Perrenot, called afterward Cardinal de Granvelle, the emperor's ambassador. Before dismissing him, he was resolved to come to a public explanation with him, on certain conversations of the emperor, complaining that the king had broke his promise, and had not answered a challenge which he had given him.

Thereupon Francis assembled, in the great hall of the palace, all the foreign ministers, with the princes and lords, in presence of whom, being clothed in his royal robes, he told the ambassador, that the emperor had  
never

never had any promise from him that could be available, since he had never seen nor met with him in any battle; that if he meant to speak of his confinement, he declared that a guarded prisoner could be bound to nothing; and that never had man been more strictly guarded than he, since, when he was in appearance on deathbed, he was kept under the guard of four or five hundred carabineers.

As the emperor boasted of having sent a challenge to the king, he publicly declared, that he knew nothing of it; and that his way of acting might not be liable to the same reproach, he ordered a written challenge, which he sent to the emperor to be read, of which these are the principal expressions.

“ We Francis, by the grace of God,  
“ king of France, and lord of Genoa, to  
“ you Charles, by the same grace, elected  
“ emperor of Rome, and king of the Spains,  
“ make known, That being informed that  
“ you boast of having our faith and pro-  
“ mise, upon which we came out of your  
“ power, though it be notorious, that a  
“ guarded man can give no faith or pro-  
“ mise that is binding: we add, moreover,  
“ that as often as you have said and shall  
“ say, that we have broken our word, or  
“ done a thing unworthy of a gentleman  
“ who regards his honour, you have lied in  
“ your throat, and shall lie, whereupon you  
“ have nothing to write us, but only to as-  
“ sure

“ sure us of the field where we shall bring  
“ you the weapons ; protesting, that what-  
“ ever you shall say against our honour, as  
“ well as the delay of the combat, shall turn  
“ to your shame.” This writing is dated  
the 28th of March 1527, (that is, 1528, ac-  
cording to our present custom ; but at that  
time in France the year began at Easter.)

After the paper was read, the king re-  
sumed his discourse, and continued his re-  
proaches against the emperor : first, for de-  
taining the pope, in which that prince pre-  
tended to take no share ; but the king show-  
ed, that that was too gross an imposition on  
mankind, since, so far from punishing his  
people who had been guilty of such a crime,  
he had allowed them to exact a ransom from  
the vicar of Jesus Christ, and had reduced  
the holy father to such extremity, that he  
had been forced to sell even benefices, “ a  
“ thing horrible to be told, especially in our  
“ days,” said Francis, “ in which so many  
“ heresies are current.” He added, concern-  
ing his sons, whom the emperor boasted of  
keeping in his power, that it was with great  
grief that he saw them in the hands of a  
prince, who required for their liberation hard-  
er terms than those which the infidels had  
exacted from the kings his predecessors, when  
they had been their prisoners ; but that his de-  
sire for the liberation of his sons should never  
oblige him to be wanting to his allies ; and  
because the emperor upbraided the king with  
hindering



hindering Christians from uniting against the Turk, he answered, that even though he had not the Turk at war against him, as the emperor had in Hungary and on the frontiers of Austria, he should always be readier to repel that enemy of Christendom than the emperor would be.

That prince said afterward something of the king of England, whom he called always his good brother and perpetual ally; and the ambassador having refused to carry any verbal message, because he had no instructions for so doing, Francis sent the challenge to Charles by a herald. The emperor sent back one to make an answer nearly in the same strain, but without any conclusion; so that these steps served no purpose, but to make noise unnecessarily.

Lautrec continued to move on in the kingdom of Naples, though he was in want of money. He complained, that the king's buildings and pleasures exhausted all the finances. He gathered provisions from all quarters to maintain an immense army, but of which two thirds were useless. He was already master of all the country, and all the fortified towns; and at last, on the first of May, he arrived before Naples, to which he laid siege. Eight galleys, commanded by Count Philipppin Doria, came and joined him. They were detached from a fleet which the king had sent at the same time into Sicily,  
in

in expectation that that kingdom should have been given up to him by intelligence.

Andrew Doria, Philippin's uncle, and Rence de Ceri, commanded the fleet, which came off Sicily, according to the plan, at the time that Lautrec arrived at Naples; but a storm threw it upon the island of Corsica, whence it passed over to Sardinia, to get provisions. The viceroy opposing it, Sassari was taken by assault; but a sickness broke out in the army, and misunderstandings among the officers. Rence de Ceri and Doria became extremely jealous of each other. They were forced to return to Genoa, whence Count Philippin was sent to Naples, to shut up the port on the land-side.

Lautrec having fortified some of the principal posts about the place, it was in straits. The plan was to starve rather than to force it, and the enemy on their side omitted nothing, to open the communications by sea and land, and being several times repulsed before their forts, they expected better success by attacking the galleys.

The small number which we had, gave rise to that expectation. The Venetians, who had promised to join us with theirs, were busied in taking some maritime towns, which were yielded to them by the treaty. So Hugh de Moncade, viceroy of Sicily, and who after the death of Lanoi was likewise in the mean time viceroy of Naples, thought himself strong enough to fight Philippin, provided

vided he were able to surprize him. He had but six galleys, and four other lesser vessels; but, in order to intimidate the enemy, he caused a great many empty fisher-boats to follow. The whole success depended on secrecy; but Lautrec was informed of the intention by the spies which he had in Naples; for there remained in that city many burghers of the Angevine faction who were very well affected to France. Lautrec informed Philippin, and sent him four or five hundred musketeers.

Upon the approach of Moncade, Philippin was surprized at the great number of vessels, and the enemy's attack was vigorous; the musketeers stood it out, and Philippin discovering the trick, fell furiously with five galleys upon the enemy. He detached three more to attack them in flank, and armed a great many of the galley-slaves, promising their liberty to all such as should take an enemy to put in his place. His artillery did prodigious execution. Moncade being shot through the arm by a musket-bullet, died in time of the action; two of his galleys were sunk, two taken, and a fifth surrendered after the battle.

The enemy lost there the flower of their army, the marquis de Guast was taken, with many persons of quality; and after such a misfortune Naples had like to have lost courage. Their provisions began to fail, pestilence followed famine, and the place was on  
all



all sides threatened with destruction. Lautrec being full of confidence began to be negligent. He had intercepted a letter from the prince of Orange, in which he wrote to the emperor that there were no more than six weeks provisions, and that having no money to pay the current master, the Germans would infallibly mutiny. Upon that assurance he dispersed the cavalry into several quarters, in order the easier to get them provisions. He did not advert that the enemy had thereby not only an opportunity of cutting off a great many of them, but likewise of introducing small convoys into the place, and even of preventing provisions from coming to our camp, in which sickness likewise broke out. The enemy poisoned the springs and cisterns, and the army was continually diminishing.

Mean-time both the emperor and the king resolved at the same time to send succours to their people. The duke of Brunswick brought to Italy 12,000 foot and 600 horse. Francis count de St Pol, of the family of Bourbon, was to oppose that army, with 400 horsemen in complete armour, 500 light horse, and 9000 foot; but the count was still preparing to march from France, when the Germans arrived in the Milanese. They there found Antonio de Leva full of high expectations, occasioned by his having just taken Pavia. They joined him in besieging Lodi, whence they were repulsed; and they  
thence

thence returned into their own country, without doing any thing else.

It is said that the emperor on purpose allowed them to be in want of money, and that he had repented of sending the duke of Brunswick, who had claims on that kingdom, in right of his great-grandfather, as donatary of Queen Jane his wife. At the same time that the Germans were retiring, the count de St Pol was entering Piedmont, and the Venetian fleet, of twenty-two galleys, arrived in the gulf of Naples, after taking Brindisi and Otranto.

Whilst affairs appeared in so good a situation for France, they changed all at once by the revolt of Andrew Doria. He had strong causes of discontent, and in his differences with Rence de Ceri he had found the court unfavourable. He was not agreeable to the favourites, because he would not depend upon them. So they were always seeking opportunities of making him be esteemed, by the king, a punctilious and ill-natured man. Withal they highly commended him, that their bad character of him might be the less suspicious.

Mean-time, as there was nothing of greater importance for the affairs of Italy than to keep him in the service, Lautrec sent Langei to represent to the king, that it was losing every thing to discontent Doria, without whom nothing was to be expected on the side of Naples. That advice was little regarded.

Doria was moved with the miseries of his country, which was going to ruin. The port of Savona was fitting up to carry the trade thither, and take it entirely away from Genoa. The duty on salt, which was one of its best revenues, had been likewise taken from that city.

Doria was importunate with the king to give satisfaction to his country: for his own part, he demanded only to have justice done him concerning the ransom of some prisoners of rank whom he had taken, and for what was due to him for the pay of his galleys. The interest of the marshal de Montmorency, to whom the king had given the duty on salt at Savona, got these proposals rejected. The chancellor, a friend of the marshal, eluded them all; and whilst he was so ill used at court, the marquis de Guast, whom he had prisoner, omitted nothing to provoke him. Doria, under pretext that his prisoners were taken from him, had made use of those that had been taken at the late naval engagement, and among the rest the marquis, who was most industrious, to disengage him from the interests of France. The accounts which he had from court, entirely determined him.

Instead of satisfying him, the command in the Mediterranean was given to Barbezieux, a younger son of the family of Rochefoucauld, a man of courage, but without experience, and without interest among the troops, who had



had private orders to seize not only Doria's galleys, but even his person if possible. His orders could not be so secret but Doria got information of them, and he immediately concluded his treaty with the emperor, by the mediation of the marquis du Guast, on condition that Genoa should be restored to full liberty, under the emperor's protection, Savona surrendered to the Genoese, and Doria himself maintained with twelve galleys, at 60,000 ducats of pay.

When Barbezieux arrived at Genoa, he in vain endeavoured to surprise Doria, who was too well aware of his intentions; but a little after Count Philippin, who, by order of his uncle, allowed some provisions to go into Naples, retired from it altogether; and the Venetian galleys, being unprovided in biscuit, were obliged at the same time to go and take some on board toward Calabria, so that the port of Naples remained free. The French fleet was not long in landing there; but it brought Lautrec only a weak reinforcement; and the place being again supplied with provisions, was in no fear of being starved so soon.

Mean-time sickness made great havock in Lautrec's army; he was himself seized, and matters every day grew worse and worse. Our troops, diminished by the pestilence, were totally ruined by the prodigious toil which the guard of the camp required. The circumference of it was so large, that

there was a necessity for the whole army, not excepting the sick, to be always under arms. The Venetians returned so ill provided, that they were forced to leave the port unguarded, in order to go in search of subsistence.

Amidst so many misfortunes, Lautrec could not be persuaded to raise the blockade, in order to refresh his troops in the neighbouring countries, which had submitted to him. He had boasted to the king, that he would oblige the city to surrender at discretion, and rather than change, he flattered himself with vain hopes. For fear of quite discouraging him during his sickness, the officers durst not report to him the melancholy situation of the army. At last, when he began to recover, he forced two pages to tell him what was passing. He was told that the camp was now nothing but a burying-ground, and was so afflicted at it, that he relapsed into his distemper, which carried him off.

A great many lords, and among others the count de Vaudemont, died in the same manner, and the marquis de Saluces took upon him the command of those ruined troops. It was not long before he himself fell sick. Most of his officers were so likewise; scarcely were there one hundred cuirassiers remaining, out of eight hundred who had begun the siege, and 25,000 foot were reduced to 4000.

The enemy in the mean time were not idle. They took Capua and Nola, where the French

French had their provisions. At last the siege was raised of necessity. Peter de Navarre, being taken in the retreat, died at Naples, and the marquis was very lucky in retiring without great loss into Averso. He was soon besieged there, and forced to surrender at discretion, with all his officers, on the 30th of August 1528. He was carried to Naples, where he died a short time after.

Matters went at first a little better in the Milanese. The count de St Pol had joined the duke d'Urbino, and had retaken Pavia; but the pestilence was so furious at Genoa, that the garrison had left it; so that Theodore Trivulce, who was governor of it, was forced to retire to the castle.

As Doria was informed of what was passing there, he came thither with all expedition, and being received without resistance, he restored the government to the nobility, being satisfied to live in his own house like a private person, after having merited the title of deliverer of his country. It is said that Trivulce's anxiety to save his money made him surrender the castle too soon; and besides it is certain, that the count de St Pol, whose army was diminishing every day, durst not approach Genoa. All that he did was to throw into Savona some succours, which did not long defend it. The Genoese took it, demolished its port, and raised its walls.

The winter prevented St Pol from undertaking any thing. In the spring following



the confederates made fruitless attempts upon Milan, and the count de St Pol endeavoured to retake Genoa. As he was marching with that intention, the overflowing of a river which was swollen by a sudden rain, obliged him to pass a day at Landriano, where Antonio de Leva came and surprised him. His men deserted him, and he was made prisoner. A small remainder of his army took refuge in Pavia. The Spaniards, being masters of the country, were every day retaking new places, and the confederates remained hopeless.

All this time peace was anxiously negotiating. The duchess d'Angouleme, and Margaret of Austria, the emperor's aunt, governess of the Low Countries, had gone to Cambray to treat of it, toward the end of May; and the pope, who perceived the affairs of the confederates ruined, laboured, with all his might, to gain the friendship of the emperor, whose interest he intended to use for establishing his family in the government of Florence. A momentous conjuncture afforded him an opportunity of gaining over that prince.

The king of England had lost his fondness for Catherine of Arragon his queen, who was the emperor's aunt by the mother's side, and Cardinal Wolsey had put it in his head that he might dissolve that marriage. His reason was, that Catherine, the widow of Arthur, an elder brother of Henry, could not become the wife of the younger brother, and that the dispensation

dispensation which the pope had granted for that marriage was null, as being contrary to the law of God.

This foundation is so false, that even the law of God in certain cases orders a brother to marry the widow of his brother. Meantime the cardinal flattered his master's passion; he likewise satisfied his own, by pretending to marry with Henry, Margaret, Francis's sister, and by obliging the king to be revenged of the emperor, who had changed into contempt the extreme regard which he had formerly had for him. Henry had other thoughts, and his intention was to marry Anne Bullen, maid of honour to his queen, with whom he was desperately in love; but he was very careful at first not to discover that thought, which might have met with too much opposition. He pretended to enter into his favourite's sentiments for France, and he pressed the pope to give him commissioners to examine into the validity of his marriage.

The affairs of the confederates were then in a flourishing condition, and the pope was for that reason disposed to favour the king of England: so he gave him for commissioner his own minister Cardinal Wolsey, with some other prelates of his own kingdom. He did more; he gave to Cardinal Campegio, his legate, a bull which he might show to the king of England for dissolving his marriage, but prohibiting him to deliver it without a new order

order signed by the pope's hand; but when the emperor had again got the upper hand, he greatly altered his behaviour; he ordered the cardinal to burn the bull, and carried the affair to Rome, being resolved to favour the emperor, as far as that prince should espouse his interests. Thus did that selfish pope make matters of religion subservient to politics.

Mean-time the king of England's passion for Anne Bullen was every day increasing. That imperious mistress exasperated Henry against Cardinal Wolsey, whom he blamed, because the bull had been burnt. He dismissed him the court. Grief at his disgrace in a short time after was the occasion of his death, and England rejoiced at the miserable end of the proudest of favourites.

The emperor, who reckoned himself personally insulted by the scheme which the king of England had formed against the queen his consort, resolved to court the friendship of the pope, who had the lead in the affairs of Italy. That prince caused very advantageous offers to be made to him. He promised to re-establish the Medicis in Florence, and to give Margaret his natural daughter with a great portion to Alexander, son of Laurence of Medicis, to whom the pope destined the secular power of his family. He engaged likewise to get restored to the holy see Ravenna, Modena, Reggio, and some other places of importance; in acknowledgment of which the



the pope granted the investiture of Naples to the emperor, and reduced the annual quit-rents due to the holy see by the kings of Naples to 6000 ducats\*.

Whilst this treaty was negotiating, the king's mother and the emperor's aunt were advancing with great secrecy at Cambray the affairs of the peace. Margaret concealed herself from the pope, with whom her nephew was treating; and the duchess d'Angouleme had still more reason to conceal her intentions from the allies, whom the king was endeavouring to keep in good humour, by always proposing to them new schemes for carrying on the war.

At last, after many difficulties, the peace was concluded by the pope's mediation. The king paid the emperor two millions of gold†, for the ransom of his sons, and obliged himself to pay for the emperor to the king of England the great sums which the house of Austria owed him. He promised to marry Eleonora the emperor's sister, and to give the duchy of Burgundy to the son of that marriage. He renounced the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and his right to Naples, Milan, and Salins. The Spanish po-

[\* About 2850 l. Sterling, reckoning the ducat, as at present, at 9 s. 6 d.]

[† About 262,500 l. Sterling, reckoning one million of gold three millions of livres, and twenty-four livres equal to a guinea, as at present; but perhaps it was double this sum, as this is Furetiere's reckoning, who wrote in 1690.]

litics did not forget the heirs of Charles de Bourbon, for whom it was stipulated that the estates of that prince should be restored.

Francis had not the same regard for the barons of Naples, who had followed his party; he made no mention of them in the treaty. He indeed comprehended in it the Venetians and the Florentines; but upon condition that they should settle their differences with the emperor, which in the main was doing nothing at all; as to Sforce, he remained in a destitute state. To these terms was a king so powerful and so generous reduced, less by the distress of his affairs, than by the desire of seeing his sons again, who had been so long prisoners.

This treaty, signed toward the end of the month of July, remained secret, by concert between the two princesses, who wanted to prevent the new designs which that peace might occasion to be laid by the parties concerned. The articles were published the 7th of August, to the great dissatisfaction of the confederates, whose ambassadors for some days the king avoided. He did all he could to appease them by empty promises; with which, however, they appeared not well satisfied, especially the king of England, with whom it was very proper to keep fair, as being obliged by the treaty to pay him 500,000 écus\*, without knowing from what

[\* About 62,500 l. reckoning, as at present, eight écus equal to a pound Sterling.]

fund to raise them, and the king had agreed to this article, in hopes that the king of England would not be hasty in demanding the payment. That was a matter very hard to obtain, and Langei was employed in that difficult negotiation. He, however, succeeded in it, by having the dexterity to enter with the king of England into the affair of his marriage.

Langei was a man of learning, and the king of England knew that he was regarded in the universities of France, Italy, and Germany. He imagined therefore, that he should easily obtain by his means consultations favourable for his affair, so much the more that Langei brought him some beforehand, under borrowed names, which were to his liking, and so gained upon him, that not only did he give a space of five years for the payment, but he likewise made a present to Henry duke of Orleans, his godson, of a gold flower-de-luce, which the emperor's father had pledged to him for 50,000 écus\*.

The emperor, in the mean time, had gone to Genoa. He was extremely desirous of receiving the Imperial crown from the hands of the pope, and to make his appearance in Italy, where his victories had made him so glorious, and so formidable. He imagined that his presence would completely

[\* About 6250 l. Sterling, reckoning, as at present, eight écus equal to a pound.]



establish his authority ; so he had no sooner come to an accommodation with the pope, than he resolved to set out.

He received at Genoa an embassy from the Florentines, against whom he had given the prince of Orange some vexatious orders, less with an intention to satisfy the pope, than to ruin the most faithful allies of France. The prince was to besiege them with all the Imperial army, and though they were determined on a vigorous defence, they endeavoured previously to appease the emperor ; but he refused audience to their ambassadors, till they had received the pope's benediction. The king punctually executed the treaty of Cambray, and caused the towns of Apulia to be surrendered, which Rence de Ceri still possessed.

The Venetians then clearly perceived that there was nothing further to be done on the side of Naples, and they drew off their fleet, in order to canton their troops in the cities of Lombardy. They took a promise of Sforce, that he should make no agreement in which they should not be included ; but the duke a short time after lost Pavia, and was then reduced so low, that scarce had he any hopes. Much about the same time, Perugia was surrendered to the prince of Orange. Every thing yielded to the emperor, and the burden of the war was about to fall entirely on the Florentines. They were besieged by the prince

of Orange, and abandoned by Francis, in whom they had placed all their hopes.

It is thought he was advised to that step by the chancellor, who for this obtained from the pope as a recompense a cardinal's hat, which till that time he had solicited in vain. The emperor was busied in Italy in negotiating with the pope and the other potentates, whilst his brother Ferdinand was losing the finest towns in Hungary, under pretext of assisting King John. Soliman had made himself master of Five Churches, Buda, Alba-regalis \*, and Altemburg. He besieged Vienna in Austria with an immense army, without the emperor's stirring either in defence of his brother's kingdom, or of the hereditary countries of his family. He trusted to the strength of the place, and the valour of Philip, Count Palatine of the Rhine, who defended it.

That conjuncture served the pope and the princes of Italy the better to take care of their interests, and the negotiation was already well advanced, when information was received, that Soliman, after a month's obstinate attack, was obliged to raise the siege, with the loss of 60,000 men. He threatened soon to return with a stronger army.

The emperor, being every where successful, went to Bologna, where the pope crowned him with the same solemnity, as if he had

[\* Perhaps Alba Julia.]

been at Rome. He made peace with the Venetians and with Sforce. That unfortunate duke was obliged to acknowledge himself in the wrong, and on his knees to beg the clemency of the emperor, to whom he was obliged to promise immense sums, which the Milanese, as much exhausted as they were, found means to furnish, so much did they abhor a foreign government; and so he was re-established.

The Venetians restored Ravenna and Cervia to the holy see, and all the ports of Apulia to the emperor, who made a league with them, with the pope, and with the duke of Milan, for the defence of Italy. After the conclusion of that peace he went at last into Germany, in order to find out some remedy for the very deep distresses with which it was threatened both by the Turk, and by the heresy of Luther, which made so great progress, that it had the appearance of soon getting the upper hand. He left orders when he set out to employ against Florence, his whole army in Italy, which had afterward nothing else to do.

The Florentines made a more vigorous defence than was expected; and Francis, who had abandoned them, thought of nothing but the liberation of his sons. He went with that intention to Bourdeaux, with the sum destined for their ransom, which he had collected with very great difficulty. The marshal de Montmorency, grand master of the



the ordnance, went to Bayonne the 10th of March 1530, to make the exchange of the princes, who much about the same time had been brought to Fontarabia; but there were difficulties which lasted near four months. At last the money was told down. All the papers concerning the sovereignties of Flanders and Artois were given to the constable of Castille. The princes were exchanged in the middle of the river Bidassoa. Queen Eleonora was brought, and the king married her near to Mont-Marsan, whither he had come to receive her.

At the same time, Francis and Henry made some attempts to bring about an accommodation between the emperor and the Florentines. The mediation of two so great kings was useless to them. A great reinforcement, which was coming to them, was defeated by the prince of Orange; but he was killed in the battle, and Ferrand de Gonzague, marquis of Mantua, had orders to finish the siege. The king, in the mean time, enjoyed a tranquillity of which he had no experience from the beginning of his reign: for he had seen nothing but wars almost constantly unsuccessful; and his own imprisonment, from which he was liberated only by that of his sons, had given him disquiets, which may easily be imagined.

He had the pleasure of again seeing those amiable princes, of whom he had been deprived for four years, and his new marriage was the occasion of entertainments of extraordi-

nary magnificence. He intermingled with these pleasures, that of polite literature, which was natural to him; for, though in his youth he had studied but very superficially, he had acquired much fine knowledge by the conversations of ingenious men, to whom he gave easy access to him, and whom he took a pleasure in advancing: thus the sciences flourished in his time.

He applied himself to the cultivation of them, chiefly in time of peace, by inviting from all quarters the most celebrated professors, to whom he gave noble salaries, especially to those of the Hebrew and Greek, the finest and most useful of all languages. He likewise much enriched his library. His liberalities were extended far beyond his own kingdom, insomuch that all the men of learning in Europe emulously commended the generosity of Francis, whom with one common voice they called *the father and restorer of the sciences*; in a word, scarcely could victories have rendered him more famous, than he was amidst his misfortunes.

There was no probability that the peace between the two princes should be lasting. The vast pretensions of Charles, his good fortune, his power, his profound dissimulation, scarcely left Francis any rest. He could not bear that the emperor should every day take from him some of his allies. He had lost the duke of Savoy, who was so nearly connected with him by blood. The emperor

ror had given that duke the county of Ast as a recompense. Francis was provoked to see in the hands of an almost declared enemy the heritage of his children. He saw, besides, some of their domestics, who had served them during their confinement, detained as galley-slaves, without any inclination of the emperor to release them; and he was not ignorant of Ferdinand's practices to break the alliance between the Swiss and France. On his side, he wanted not means of being troublesome to the emperor, and the state of affairs in Germany afforded him favourable opportunities for being so.

On leaving Italy, Charles had gone to Augsburg, whither the diet of the empire was convoked. The Lutherans came thither in great numbers. There was presented to the emperor, in name of the princes and cities of their party, their confession of faith, called for that reason the Augsburg confession.

The Zuinglians likewise presented that which Zuinglius had drawn up for them. He had begun to preach the new opinions in Switzerland, at the same time that Luther disturbed Germany; but he differed from him on the point of the eucharist, in which Zuinglius believed the body of Jesus Christ present only in figure and virtue; whereas Luther held it present really and in substance, denying only the transubstantiation, that is to say, that the bread is changed into the body of Jesus Christ. God permitted that division among



the enemies of the church, in order to weaken their party.

Carlostad or Carlostadius, formerly Luther's master, and, since he had turned dogmatizer, become his disciple, had abandoned his own sentiment for that of Zuinglius, and was followed by several Lutherans; but those of the Augsburg confession had continued incomparably the stronger party, and they became daily more formidable. They assumed the name of Protestants, because they protested against the decrees of a diet held at Spire.

The Catholics, who perceived them increasing, confederated against them in an assembly held at Nuremberg; and toward the end of the year, the emperor began to declare himself, with regard to the scheme which he had formed of getting his brother Ferdinand elected king of the Romans, that he might have, as it were, another self in Germany, while so many kingdoms as he had to govern called him elsewhere.

All this terrified the Protestants, who assembled immediately after at Smalcald, where they entered into a league, to defend their religion, and prevent, said they, the emperor's attempts against the liberties of Germany. This league was composed of the princes of Saxony, Luneburg, Anhalt, and Hesse, all Lutherans. The cities of their religion, some of the most powerful in the empire, had joined them; and the dukes of Bavaria, though Catholics, had been engaged

in

in the league by the common interest of the princes of the empire, being fully persuaded that the house of Austria would easily crush them all, by appropriating the empire to itself as hereditary, to which she had a declared tendency.

The princes had no sooner concluded their league, than they sent to Francis to ask his protection, without entering upon the affair of religion with him. They only represented to him, that it was becoming him to assist them in saving the remains of the liberty of the empire, and to oppose a prince, who, establishing for himself in Germany an unlimited power, was manifestly opening a road to universal monarchy in his own family; but, amidst all those obstacles raised against the emperor, he nevertheless was always forwarding his schemes.

In vain did the princes of the Smalcaldic league write to the electors, that, in order to make a king of the Romans, the consent of the whole empire was necessary. They were already brought over, and, notwithstanding the opposition of the duke of Saxony, Ferdinand was elected on the 5th of January 1531, by the votes of all the other electors.

The princes were very sensible, that, after so bold an action, the emperor would not delay to march against them, and they solicited Francis to declare himself. The formidable power of the house of Austria made him

him hearken to their proposals, resolved, however, to do nothing contrary to the treaty of Cambray ; and, that nothing might be omitted for preserving peace, he allowed Queen Eleonora his consort, and the duchess of Angouleme his mother, secretly to negotiate an interview between the emperor and him, in which methods should be contrived for uniting them by a firm alliance.

The king desired that rather than expected it ; and to tell the truth, the two princes had no intention but to amuse each other by that negotiation, whilst each on his part was endeavouring to procure himself new friends. At that time the emperor was preparing for his journey to Ratisbon, to hold the diet which he had summoned thither ; and as the princes of the league clearly perceived that he would therein get violent resolutions taken against them, they so pressed the king, that he resolved to conclude. He had a man in Germany who managed that matter ; but he was too closely connected with the king of England to finish without the privity of that prince, to whom the league had likewise sent a deputation. He found him to do more than he inclined.

The king of England clearly saw that the emperor would never pardon him for the affront that he was putting upon him, in divorcing his aunt ; and, though he had formerly written against Luther, he hated the Lutherans, somewhat less since the causes of complaint  
which



which he imagined he had against the pope. So he wanted to make a league offensive and defensive with the princes of Smalcald, and there was some difficulty to get him brought over to Francis's opinion, who inclined only to make a league defensive.

The emperor's ambassador had an inkling of that plot, and complained of it to the king, who answered, that he should inviolably observe treaties; but, for taking pleasure in obliging his master, he gave him too little cause for it. So he dispatched Langei into Germany, with orders to declare to the princes, that he was ready to assist them, if they were attacked; and, besides, that he had delayed coming to an explanation, only with an intention of bringing over the king of England to his sentiments.

The friendship into which Francis entered with the princes of the league, invited John king of Hungary, after their example, to court the protection of France, by a solemn embassy. Francis imagined, that, without violating the peace of Cambray, and without breaking with the house of Austria, he might make the marriage of that prince with the king of Navarre's sister, and pay him in ready money a considerable portion, which he might be at liberty to employ in his own defence. Such considerable matters plotting against the emperor, obliged him to send from Ratisbon, where he was holding the diet, the marquis of Balançon, to intreat Francis

Francis to lend his galleys, his household troops, and large sums of money, to put him in a condition of resisting the Turk, whose motions threatened Hungary; that the house of Austria should do the rest; and that she hoped to oppose Soliman with an army of foot, at least as strong as his own.

His intention was to throw on Francis the odium of the Turk's invasion if he refused that succour, or to drain him of men and money, if he were so easy tempered as to grant it. Francis answered with scorn, that he was neither banker nor merchant to furnish nothing but money, but a Christian prince, who was very willing to have his share in the danger, provided he got likewise a share of the glory; that his fleet was destined for the protection of his coasts; and that as to his household troops which were the strength of his kingdom, they never marched but when he commanded them in person; that besides he clearly perceived by the ambassador's conversations, that Germany being provided in an army so strong as that which he had mentioned, could have no need of succours; therefore it was better to guard Italy which was destitute, which he offered to do with 50,000 fighting men, and to carry still greater forces wherever they should be wanted, with his good brother the king of England.

He knew well that the emperor would be loath to accept his offers, but he wanted to oppose artifice to artifice, and to give an answer

swer as captious as the proposal. The emperor made use of it to persuade the Germans, that the king had no regard for their dangers, and, on the contrary, was only contriving to take advantage of them, in order to take from the empire what it had yet remaining in Italy.

This conversation had its effect, even on the princes of the league; so that Langei, who perceived them disconcerted, delayed no longer absolutely concluding the treaty, by which he promised to assist them if they were attacked contrary to the laws of the empire. Francis had accounts at the same time, that the king of England consented to the defensive league, and promised besides to contribute 50,000 crowns to the preservation of the liberties of the holy empire.

This treaty, being concluded in Bavaria, was brought to the king when in Brittany, where Francis the Dauphin had been declared duke in the states of that province, on condition, that, on his accession to the crown, Brittany should be reunited to it, and that the eldest sons of France, together with the title of Dauphin, should bear that of duke of Brittany, with the arms of that province joined to those of France and Dauphiné.

As soon as the treaty with England was carried to Langei, the union of the two crowns with the league was concluded; and it was agreed among all the princes, that they could make no treaty without mutually communicating



municating it. The king bound himself to give 100,000 écus \* which could be employed on no invasion, but solely on the defence of the rights of the empire; and the sum was deposited in the hands of the duke of Bavaria, in whom the king confided for the entire accomplishment of his intentions.

Langei returned to France, proud of having concluded so delicate an affair, and went over to England to settle the interview which was to happen between the two kings. There was always a talk of that between the emperor and the king, who allowed his mother and his queen to be doing till the death of the first put an end to that amusement.

The emperor, who could take the proper advantage of every thing, had made use of this to render suspicious to the pope all the proposals made to him as from the king. In order to secure him altogether, he put the Florentines under the government of the family of Medicis. They had borne all the inconveniencies of a long siege, and being betrayed by their own generals, they had been forced to surrender to the emperor, whom they petitioned within a certain time to settle the government of their city. He deprived them of their liberties, as people who had espoused the interests of France against the empire, and gave them for an absolute prince Alexander de Medicis, revoking what privi-

[\* About 12,500 l. Sterling, reckoning, as at present, eight écus equal to a pound.]

leges he left them, so soon as they should attempt any thing contrary to the authority of the Medicis.

Preparations were mean-time making for some more important affairs in Germany. Soliman had crossed over Hungary, and while Charles was at the diet at Ratisbon, he was informed by letters from his brother Ferdinand, that Vienna was threatened by an army of 600,000 men. Upon these news, the affairs of religion, which busied the diet, were referred till another assembly.

The emperor demanded 30,000 livres\* from the states of the empire, which they granted without difficulty. The pope promised 4000 écus a-month\*, and sent his best troops under the command of young Cardinal Hypolite de Medicis, who breathed nothing but arms. As to the house of Austria, never did it appear more powerful, having itself singly raised 90,000 foot, and 30,000 horse; who were waiting, under the walls of Vienna, for Soliman who was approaching. He laid siege to Lints, but raised it at a month's end, under pretext of marching to fight the emperor.

It was a grand show to see opposed to each other the two most powerful princes in the world; Charles on the one side, and Soliman on the other, with two such formidable

[\* About 1312 l. 10 s Sterling at twenty-four livres for a guinea, as at present.]

[† About 500 l. Sterling, at eight écus for a pound.]

armies; but they did no more than look at each other, and both seemed to dread the event of a battle, which might have decided the fortune of two great empires.

Soliman retired in a rage, after detaching two parties of 20,000 horse each, to ravage the hereditary provinces; and Charles, who could have forced him to fight, was more circumspect than his generals, who pressed him to attack. He thought, that, without hazarding all, he ought to rest satisfied with rendering useless so great efforts of the Turk; but it is hard to understand why he missed the opportunity of crushing in Hungary the party of John Sepusse. Soliman had retired. Of the two detachments which he had sent from his army, the one had been cut in pieces, and the other was returning loaded with plunder. He needed only, it seems, to have showed himself to the Hungarians: Ferdinand pressed him not to leave him destitute; but nothing could stop him; he wanted to return to Spain, without alledging any other reason than his desire of seeing the empress again.

In order to avoid the blame to which so sudden a retreat exposed him, he left Ferdinand a great part of his army, but in so bad order, that he reaped no advantage from it. It was publicly reported over all Europe, that he was jealous of his own brother, and that he was afraid to see him in a condition



to stand upon his own legs without assistance in Germany.

Toward the end of October, the kings of France and England came to Boulogne *sur mer*. They gave out that their meeting was intended to contrive methods to expel the Turk. The king of England complained loudly of the pope, because he would have him to treat of the affair of his divorce at Rome, contrary to the custom always observed of sending judges to the spot to hear the parties who in such matters can scarcely explain themselves by an attorney.

He likewise complained of the heavy exactions of the Roman church from the people and clergy of England. He intended to carry his complaints to the general council, and he wanted that Francis should join him in summoning the pope to call one. If his opinion had been followed, even threatenings would have been used. But the king did not incline to be so hasty: it was a terrible shock to the pope to speak to him of a council.

The church had never had more need of one: there was no other remedy against Luther's heresy, and against so many abuses as had crept in. The scandal which they occasioned, was the most plausible pretext which the heretics could give to their separation. They had not as yet dared openly to rise up against the authority of councils, and on the contrary they demanded that one  
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should be held, being apparently willing to submit to its decisions. But the pope, full of the grandeur of his family, did not listen to these arguments. He regarded the council as an obstacle to his intentions, fearing always that if the church were once reformed, he should be obliged to reform both himself and the court of Rome; so though he had promised a council at the emperor's solicitations, he never wanted specious pretexts to elude its convocation.

Francis, who knew this reluctance, thought he must serve the king of England by methods more agreeable to the pope's humour. There was a treaty on foot for the marriage of Francis's younger sons, with Catherine of Medicis, the pope's niece, who was called Duchesse d'Urbino. It was the duke of Albany her uncle who was negotiating that affair, and the king had so strong a desire to disengage the pope from the emperor, that he had entered very deep into it. He imagined that that marriage would connect him strictly with the pope, and give him an opportunity of acting effectually for his friend.

While the two kings were together, they received accounts that Charles, in his return to Spain, was passing through Italy, and was to see the pope again at Bologna. This new interview made them diffident. They resolved together that the Cardinals de Tournon and de Grammont should be at Bologna, at the time that the pope should arrive there,  
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under pretext of accompanying him in so considerable a ceremony; but in fact they had orders to speak in name of the two kings, and as they presumed the pope would be the more stately from this connection that he seemed to have with the emperor, they thought they must act with somewhat the more dignity.

So the cardinals were bound by their instructions to represent how much it was the pope's interest, not to offend two so great kings inseparably united. They were to speak of national councils which they might assemble in their own kingdoms to remedy abuses, and of the general council which they might also propose to him, without giving place to the delays with which he amused the world for so long time: that, moreover, it was now no longer seasonable to threaten them with censures; that he had already enough of business on hand in Germany and Swisserland; and in case he abused them, they should go to Rome with such a retinue, that he would be happy to revoke his sentences; that therefore the shortest way for him was to manage with a gentler hand the affairs of England, and to think what might happen if he drove matters to extremity.

These sayings were harsh; and indeed Francis's intention was not to come to blows, and the cardinals had orders at last to soften the pope, by proposing a conference of the two kings with him at Nice, where matters might



be amicably accommodated. Things being thus disposed, Henry and Francis separated, and the latter came and passed the winter at Paris. The cardinals arrived at Bologna, the beginning of the following year. For some days the pope and the emperor had conferences together on the subject of continuing the league in Italy, in which the emperor wanted to get the lordship of Genoa comprehended, though France had not renounced it.

The pope was inclinable to his sentiments, because he knew the bad dispositions of the king of England, and wanted to support himself against a prince whose interests would be supported by France. In this conjuncture the cardinals thought it dangerous to provoke the pope, and were afraid, that, by pressing in the name of the kings, they might oblige him so much the more to repose entire confidence in the emperor.

So, laying aside all the measures with which they were charged in their instructions, they remonstrated to the pope, that the king inclined to take him as judge of his right to Genoa; they proposed to him an interview in which affairs were to be treated, especially those of the marriage of Catherine of Medicis, Duchess d'Urbino; and conjured him at the same time, as well for the benefit of Christendom, as for his own particular interest, in the mean time to keep every thing as it was. At these words the pope began to recover from the dread he had  
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of being reduced to depend entirely on the emperor.

That prince finding him more cool, was not long before he discovered the cause of that change; and he began to represent to the pope, that the king wanted nothing, but to amuse him with a marriage, of which there was so little appearance. He proposed to him at the same time, a more probable match, which was to give his niece to Duke Sforce; but the pope replied, that the least he could do, was to hear a king of France who did him so much honour; and that he must not disoblige him at a time when the king of England was soliciting him to separate from the holy see.

Nevertheless, to keep fair on all sides, he consented to the continuation of the league in Italy, giving the king, however, to understand, that it might turn at last to his advantage, since it bound the emperor to disband his troops so enured to war, which had gained him so many victories. Upon such vain appearances, Francis hastened the marriage.

The emperor, who never thought that he would in earnest consent to so unequal an alliance, declared to the pope, that he did not pretend to hinder him from procuring to his niece and to his family, so considerable an advantage. He himself advised him to ask the French cardinals, if they had powers to conclude. They had not, but they offered to bring them, and asked only the time necessary

cessary for having an answer by a courier whom they should dispatch.

When the pope saw the letter of attorney in due form, he was no less surprised, than if he had seen an enchantment; and the emperor, in equal surprise, had nothing further to do, but to beg him to insert in his favour some conditions in the treaty which he should make with the king; to which the pope answered, that the honour received by his family was so great, that it was the king's business, not his, to make the terms. He was, however, so lucky, that so high an alliance cost him nothing but promises.

He had the dexterity to persuade Francis, that, in order to deal gently by his dignity, nothing must be exacted of him with the marriage; and that afterward he would do so well of himself, that the king would repair, by his union with the holy see, the losses that he and his predecessor had suffered, by not being sufficiently united with it. Such were the pope's conversations.

Francis, who knew how great a matter it was that he was doing for him, believed, that he would have as much gratitude as he received honour, and gave his son in that expectation; and the pope's good luck was even so high, that they rather chose in France to give him for his niece the duke of Orleans, than the duke of Angouleme his younger brother.

It was imagined, that it would procure so great



great preferment to that son of France who should become his nephew, that it would be sufficient to make the other jealous ; and it was thought, that by preferring the duke of Angoulême, a wrong would be done to the duke of Orleans, which should put an eternal division between the brothers.

So slight a foundation occasioned the choice for Catherine to fall upon the second son of France, without considering how near he was to the crown, which the following times will in fact show us upon his head. In order to finish that marriage, it was resolved, that the pope and the king should go to Nice. That resolution was kept secret ; and the emperor set out from Bologna, without knowing any thing of the matter. Francis acquainted the king of England of it, that he might be at the interview, and might there solicit his own divorce ; but matters had taken another turn.

Henry being impatient, had prevailed with Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, who took upon him the title of natural legate of the holy see, to declare null his marriage with Catherine of Aragon, and to marry him with Anne Bullen. He kept the matter secret, in expectation of the interview, being resolved to separate from the Roman church, if the pope refused him his demand. Henry had caused this secret to be told to Francis, who omitted nothing in order to obtain for him judges upon the spot,

spot, before any notice was got of what had passed in England; but the pope referred all to the conference at Nice.

The time destined for holding it was approaching, and the pope waited for nothing but the emperor's absence to declare it. As soon as he had left Italy, and was upon his journey to Spain, he got it approved by the cardinals. The impediments which the emperor wanted to throw in the way were needless, and the duke of Savoy's refusal to lend Nice, made the pope resolve to come to France; but before the time agreed, it was known at Rome and in Spain what sentence Cranmer had given against the queen of England. The cardinals being persuaded by various consultations of the validity of her marriage, and instigated by the emperor's solicitations, so pressed the pope, that he pronounced the sentence of excommunication against Henry, in case within a certain time he should not make reparation for the crime of which he had been guilty.

Though the king was moved with that sentence pronounced against his friend, he did not despair of getting it remedied, because it was only comminatory, and gave some time to the king of England; but he received at the same time from Milan another piece of intelligence, which occasioned him much greater emotion.

The duke of Milan, oppressed by the power of the emperor, and no longer expecting

ing any liberty but from the support of France, desired to have about him a minister from the king; but so secretly, that the Spaniards might suspect nothing of it. He had asked in that station, Francis de Merveille, a native of Milan, a riding-master in the king's stables, who had made a great fortune in France, by breaking and managing horses, and teaching the young nobility to ride. He had been known to the duke, when on his travels in his country, in which he had signalized himself by his bounties.

The king had sent him back with two sorts of letters to the duke; the one secret, in which he appeared as the king's minister; the other, which might be shown, in case of necessity, which were simple letters of recommendation to favour in his private affairs. That artifice did not hinder the emperor from suspecting the truth. He severely threatened the duke of Milan, and was not satisfied with the excuses which the duke made to him, that that gentleman was at Milan only about his own affairs, nor with the letters which seemed to show it. He must have more real proofs; and Sforce, intimidated by the emperor, resolved to sacrifice Merveille to his jealousy.

He excited against him Castillon, a Milanese lord, who made a quarrel with him; and, though Merveille omitted nothing to appease him, it was so far pushed, that it came to extremities. Castillon took his measures ill.

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He was killed by the French. The duke caused the envoy to be seized, being overjoyed to be able to justify himself, without leaving any suspicion of his conduct. After trying him with the utmost precipitation, contrary to all the forms observed in the Milanese, he caused him to be beheaded in prison.

It is easy to judge how sensible the king was of that affront. He complained of it to all the Christian princes, as of a crime committed against the law of nations; but especially he demanded amends for it from the emperor, protesting, that he would take it himself, if it were refused him; and assuring, however, that it should be without renewing his claim to the Milanese, which he did not incline to have in that way.

The emperor was overjoyed to have made the duke irreconcilable with the king, and not satisfied with excusing his action, he immediately gave him in marriage a daughter of his sister and of Christiern king of Denmark. The duke in vain attempted to justify himself to the king, to whom he sent his nephew, whose reasons were as ill received as his uncle's conduct was bad. A little after, the pope was carried on board the galleys of France to Marseilles, which city was chosen for the interview. He lodged the first day without the city, and made his entry the day after, with vast magnificence, in his pontifical

cal robes, carried in his throne upon two mens shoulders.

A day after the king came to make obeisance to him, where John du Bellei, Langei's brother, then bishop of Bayonne, and afterward of Paris, began to show his great genius; for William Poyet, president of the parliament, who was reckoned one of the most eloquent men of his time, having prepared a Latin harangue, the subject of which did not please the pope, to whom it was communicated the night before the ceremony, the president durst not undertake to compose another for the day after, and the bishop of Bayonne, who took his place, caused his eloquence to be admired.

Business was begun, and the king was so fully persuaded of the pope's good intentions, that, without requiring any thing for his own interest, he spoke only about the conclusion of the marriage: it was solemnised and consummated. It cost the pope no more than creating four French cardinals, and the fair promises which he gave concerning the Milanese. Francis was much more importunate for the king of England than for himself. He however obtained no more; the affair was referred to Rome, to be treated there in a full consistory.

The king and the pope separated the 20th of November 1533, after being more than a month together, and consuming so considerable a time in ceremonies or needless conver-

fations. On returning from Marseilles, the king received at Avignon the young prince of Wittemberg, who was demanding his protection to be restored to his dominions.

His father had been dispossessed of them by the princes of the league of Suabia, on account of his cruelty, and especially for his having treated with unheard-of outrages his wife Sabina, a sister of the dukes of Bavaria, who were some of the chiefs of the league. The emperor had invested in that duchy Ferdinand his brother, who was in possession of it; but the young prince Christopher was no sooner arrived at the age of eighteen or twenty years, than his merit engaged the compassion of all the princes. His uncles the dukes of Bavaria were sorry to see him bearing the iniquities of his father, who seemed on his side to be reclaimed; and there was a diet convoked at Augsburg, to treat of their restoration.

In the state in which the king was with the emperor, it was easy for the young prince to obtain his protection. He sent into Germany, William du Bellei, lord of Langei, who had there formerly negotiated so great affairs so successfully. He had orders not only to solicit the interests of the princes dispossessed; but likewise to use his utmost efforts to break the league of Suabia, which was wholly to the advantage of the house of Austria.

At the same time that he set out for Germany, his brother John du Bellei, bishop



of Paris, was dispatched to England, to prevent Henry from breaking with the holy see. That prelate, being agreeable to the king of England, on account of his learning and fine genius, persuaded him to soften the pope by some act of submission. He offered to go to Rome; and the king promised to send him a proxy for submitting in his name, in case he could appease the pope. He set out upon that promise, and found the pope provoked against Henry, who seemed to have no other defence than threatening to make a schism.

The bishop softened the pope a little, by promising to procure from the king of England, an ample power to treat. He agreed on a determined time, in which he was to receive an answer; the time came, and he had no accounts. It was the middle of winter, and the bishop thought that the courier was retarded by the bad weather; but the emperor's creatures made so much noise, that the pope could not resist their importunities. He referred the affair to the consistory, where they carried every thing. In vain did the bishop throw himself at the pope's feet, to obtain only a delay for six days. The definitive sentence of excommunication was pronounced; the courier came two days after with the proxy.

The king of England offered to submit to the holy see, provided only that some suspected cardinals were not appointed his judges; and that the pope would be pleased to delegate

some person to Cambray, to hear the witnesses that he should produce. He named Cambray, as a place not to be suspected, and where the witnesses could not be forced. Then the pope and the cardinals repented their having been so precipitant in their decision, but the affair was past remedy. The king of England, provoked with such precipitation, withdrew from the church which he had so strenuously defended; and, notwithstanding the ancient traditions, he declared himself head of the church of England. Thus was changed a kingdom formerly so Catholic.

The passion of a headstrong king separated England from the holy see, whence it had derived its faith; and the pope's sentence fundamentally just, but precipitantly pronounced, was the occasion of so great a misfortune. William de Langei's negotiation was more successful. The princes of the league were persuaded by his conversations, that it was now no longer time to join for the support of the house of Austria, which thenceforward would be too powerful; and that, on the contrary, it was more proper to diminish a power which might become capable of oppressing and crushing them.

So the league of Suabia, which had lasted for seventy years, was broke, and Ferdinand opposing the re-establishment of the two princes of Wittemberg, the dukes of Bavaria, the landgrave of Hesse, and their allies, resolved

ved to attempt it by force. They had occasion for some of the king's money; but he would lend them none against the house of Austria, on account of the treaty of Cambray. The expedient devised, was, that the duke should sell him the county of Montbeliard, with a power of redemption. With that assistance, the princes armed, and by a signal victory they retook the duchy of Wittemberg, in which they re-established Ulric. He afterward made his peace with the house of Austria, and recovered his county.

The landgrave of Hesse, who had conducted that war, had promised by the treaty made with Langei, that, after it should be finished, he would carry the troops into the Milanese, to avenge the death of Merveille. He did not find himself in a condition to execute his promise, by being too much exposed to the house of Austria, which would not fail to strip him of his dominions in his absence; but Francis, nevertheless, persisted in his design. Besides, his causing to be levied in Germany twenty battalions \* of foot, under the command of Count William de Furstemberg, he ordered seven legions to be formed, of 6000 men each, and pointed out the provinces in which they should be raised. These legions were divided into six companies of a thousand men, which had each a captain to command them. He thought it a

\* [Ensignes.]



fine thing thus to imitate the old Romans. With these forces, he reckoned himself in a condition to attack the Milanese; but it was necessary not to leave behind him the territories of the duke of Savoy, who seemed to be an enemy, and the surest road was even to march through them.

Charles, (that was the duke's name), though a near kinsman of the king, refused him a passage through Piedmont, saying that he inclined to observe an exact neutrality. The king was already offended at him: he had always resented that he had lent money to the duke de Bourbon, in his rebellion, for raising troops against his king, and the attachment that he had so long shown to favour the emperor. So he found himself inclinable to make war against him; and that he might have a more plausible reason for so doing, he resolved to demand in the duchy of Savoy the share which he claimed as due to him in right of his mother, out of respect for whom he said he had deferred to disturb her family.

Though he expected little assistance from the pope, he thought that the least he could do was to remain neuter, and he reckoned it somewhat not to have in this war the same obstacle from Rome as he had had in the others; but while he was preparing for his expedition, he had intelligence of the death of Clement. He died the 5th of September 1534, aged 56 years, amidst his ambitious designs. Cardinal du Prat the chancellor aspired after the papacy,

pacy, and having discovered his thoughts on this to the king, to whom he offered immense sums, to forward that scheme, he was first despised, and afterward discharged the court. The king caused his riches to be seized, of which he had so unseasonably made a parade.

At Rome, the cardinals, who wanted peace, made haste to elect a pope who might not be partial, before the creatures of the emperor and of the king were arrived. They unanimously elected Alexander Farnese, aged 77 years, dean of the sacred college, who took the name of Paul III. One of the reasons of electing him was the zeal that he had always shown for the holding of the council, of which all good men were desirous.

It was after his exaltation that the Lutheran sect, after having perverted all Germany, began to trouble France. Some false zealots of that sect set up sacrilegious placards against the faith of the church; and especially against the sacrifice of the mass. After pasting them up in all the streets, they were so bold as to drop them even in the king's chamber.

Several methods had been tried to render him favourable to the new doctrine. When the king of England broke with the holy see, in order to render his revenge the more remarkable, he used his utmost efforts to carry Francis along with him. The novelty had seized some princesses of the royal family. The king received every day new attacks on  
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that point by delicate and imperceptible methods. Margaret, his beloved sister, knowing his inclination for men of letters, made use of it to get Melancthon brought, who was one of the most knowing and most polite men of his time, but likewise one of the leaders among the Lutherans.

The cardinal de Tournon disappointed that scheme. It is said that he entered the king's chamber with a book under his arm. The king, who loved books, did not fail to ask him what book it was; and the cardinal answered, that it was an ancient bishop of the Gallican church; the king immediately opened it, and found the works of St Irenæus, a bishop of Lyons and a martyr, who lived in the second century. He asked him what was the saint's opinion on the new doctrines; and the cardinal, who had foreseen that effect of the king's curiosity, read to him some important passages on the point of the eucharist, upon the authority of tradition, and upon the pre-eminence of the Roman church, reckoned from the earliest times as the centre of ecclesiastical communion. He enlarged afterward in showing that Luther and his followers had destroyed, together with the ancient maxims of the church, the foundations of Christianity, and made so strong an impression on the king's mind, that he never after heard of the novelties without horror.

He caused to be made, on the 19th of January 1535, a solemn procession, at which he  
assisted



assisted in person. There, in an incredible concourse of people, the king represented the misfortunes which heresy had always occasioned in states. He showed in particular, that since Luther and Zuinglius had rebelled against the church, some seditious opinions had spread among the people, which had armed the subjects against each other, and against their princes, and had sapped the foundations of the public tranquillity.

Thence had arisen the furies of the Anabaptists, who had again very lately occasioned in Munster infinite rebellions and bloodshed. He showed that it was not in that manner that the doctrine of the gospel was established; that it had excited in the Roman empire neither confusion, nor rebellion, nor sedition, but that on the contrary it had augmented the concord of the citizens, and their obedience to their princes, who had no better subjects than the first Christians: whereas these new doctors, who called themselves reformers, were every day stirring up a thousand fanatics capable of attempting any thing under pretext of piety; whence he concluded, that these novelties were no less pernicious to the state than to religion; and he exhorted his subjects to persevere as constantly in the faith of their ancestors, as he was resolved to follow that same faith, after the example of the kings his predecessors, among whom from Clovis downward there had not been a single one who had separated from the church.

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To that pious and eloquent speech, he added some rigorous edicts, by which he condemned heretics to be burnt. These edicts were for a long time executed with excessive severity; but experience made him temperate them, and taught him not to give headstrong persons an opportunity of mimicking the martyrs. The emperor, who made every thing subservient to his profound politics, did not fail to reap some advantage from the zeal of Francis. He got it represented underhand to the princes of the league of Smalcald, how little they ought to confide in a prince, who caused those of their religion to be burnt; and at the same time he told the Catholics, that the love which Francis showed for religion, was but feigned or political, since at the very time that he was persecuting the heretics in his own kingdom, he was endeavouring to introduce the Turks into the heart of Christendom.

What gave room for that reproach was, that there was at the court of France an ambassador from the Grand Seignior; to know what he was doing there, was no easy matter; and under pretext of adjusting things relative to commerce, there was nothing but might easily be brought upon the carpet. The sequel might give some suspicion of what was perhaps beginning at that time; but as nothing then came to light which denoted any close connection, Langei easily persuaded the princes of Germany, that the intentions of his master

master in kindly receiving the Grand Seignior's ambassadors, were as innocent as those of the king of the Romans, when he had given a similar reception to such like envoys.

With regard to the Protestants, he was obliged to tell them, that such as had been condemned to the flames, were rebels whose audaciousness was unsufferable, unless one intended to raise divisions through the whole kingdom. In fact, the heretics instilled strange dispositions into people's minds; and it was necessary to hold a steady hand to prevent the confusions which the weakness of the following reigns occasioned to break out, from beginning at that time; for it was then that John Calvin, a native of Noyon, published in French and Latin his book of Institutions, in which there was no less malignity than eloquence.

Never did man better conceal an ungovernable pride under an apparent moderation. He was regardless of the world's riches, and the sole ambition which possessed him was that of excelling in the talents of the mind, and of ruling over other men by his knowledge and eloquence. This rendered him at last unsufferable to his best friends. His writings were full of great bitterness of expression, which was communicated to his readers by the vehemence of his figures and the ornaments of his discourse; so his Institutions put all France in a commotion.

The king, who foresaw the consequences of so pernicious a book, was not able with all his



his zeal to accomplish the suppression of it. The only advantage which the church reaped from it, was, that as Calvin opposed Luther's opinion concerning the eucharist, he increased the divisions among the Protestant party; so that divine providence made use of the most dangerous heresiarch of his time to weaken heresy. Whilst the levies which the king was making in Germany were advancing by the address of Langei, he was endeavouring to fit up the legions for which he had given out the commissions; he visited the provinces, to see in what condition the fortified places were, and to review the troops raising there.

The emperor was likewise making great preparations by sea and land; and as there were already 50,000 men on foot, he resolved to employ them in an expedition suitable to his high dignity. The pirate Barberossa, after taking the kingdom of Tunis from two brothers who were disputing about it, under pretext of assisting one of them, had made himself master at sea, and was ravaging the coasts of the kingdom of Naples and of Italy. Muley Assan, one of the two brothers, took refuge with the emperor, who laid hold of that opportunity of purging the sea. He engaged in that expedition in hopes of speedily finishing it, and before Francis were ready.

In fact, imbarcking in the month of June, in three months time he took La Goulette, a place of importance in Africa. He beat a considerable

confiderable fleet belonging to Barberoffa : he restored Muley Affan to his kingdom of Tunis, and liberated 20,000 Christian slaves of all nations without ransom. He fortified La Gouletta, and kept it.

During that time, Francis was negotiating with the duke of Savoy. Besides his mother's share, which he demanded, he showed him by old writings, that several towns of Savoy and of Piedmont had been seized without right from Dauphiné and Provence ; and that the county of Nice belonged no otherwise to the duke than as being mortgaged by the kings of Sicily of the house of Austria. Francis, who had their rights, might enter again into possession, upon reimbursing 14,000 écus \* given by the dukes of Savoy, with the interest from the time of the mortgage.

The president Poyet had drawn up all those memorials, and was beginning to gain the king's confidence. Anne du Bourg, afterward created chancellor of France, in place of Du Prat, was scarcely concerned in those matters. Poyet, who conducted every thing, was sent to the duke of Savoy, with instructions drawn up by himself. As long as the emperor was in Africa, the duke, who perceived that his protector was at a distance, was forced to temporise ; but he found himself much more perplexed at his return. The emperor returned indeed loaded with glory, but his

[\* About 1750 l. Sterling, at eight écus for a pound, as at present.]

troops were ruined, and he must have much time for recruiting them. Those of the king in the mean time were every day increasing.

The emperor, who was apprehensive of a sudden irruption into the Milanese, had recourse to his usual artifices. He began by a thousand proposals to amuse Velli, ambassador of France, by speaking to him of various marriages for the Dauphin; but that was not what Francis intended. He wanted to be satisfied concerning the Milanese; and he ordered Velli to demand it from the emperor, when he was at Palermo, on his return from Africa. That prince was so dexterous at dissembling his sentiments, but without engaging himself, that Velli from that time conceived hopes which he never afterward lost, of finishing that affair to the satisfaction of his master. His expectations increased by the death of Sforce, which happened toward the end of this year.

Upon the news of that death, the king redoubled his importunities, and the emperor declared that Sforce dying without issue, the duchy had devolved upon him; he however said, that having now full power to dispose of it, he intended to gratify with it, not the king, for Italy could not endure to be incorporated with the French monarchy, but one of his younger sons.

At the same time a definitive answer was demanded of the duke of Savoy; and that prince,



prince, who saw nothing ready on the emperor's side, was resolved to surrender Nice. The emperor threatened, if he did so, to redemand Vercelli, and some other places which anciently held of the Milanese: he even proposed an exchange of the part of the Milanese which lay most convenient for Piedmont, for that which he possessed on this side the Alps, that is to say, Brescia and Savoy. By that means he broke off the communication of France with Switzerland, whence she brought her best infantry; and the king, surrounded on all sides with the dominions of Austria, was reduced to stand upon her own support. He easily perceived the consequent of that scheme, and he caused the emperor and the duke to be pressed anew; but neither of them had any other intention than to gain time.

The emperor was collecting numerous armies from all quarters, and in the mean time was acting as if he had in good earnest intended to restore the Milanese. There seemed to remain but one difficulty; which was, that the emperor offered it to Charles duke d'Angouleme, and that the king insisted to have it for the duke of Orleans. He was afraid of raising in his family an eternal source of division, if he preferred the younger to the elder brother, and reversed the order of nature.

The more the king insisted on that reason, the more the emperor showed that he wanted

to gratify the duke d'Angouleme. It was, said he, kindling a new fire in Italy to establish there the duke of Orleans, with the claims which he might have in right of his wife upon the states of Florence and Urbino. Besides, he was married; and the emperor said, that, by making so considerable a present to the family of France, the least that he could do for his own, was to give to the prince one of his nieces.

The matter remained long in that state; and the emperor, who wanted to go to Rome, came to Naples, where the negotiations continued. The emperor's whole intention was to keep the king in expectation. By that expectation he caused him to break the measures which he was taking with the Venetians. The emperor put himself in a way of contracting new alliances with them: he continued his private preparations for a bloody war, in which he intended no less than to invade France; and he retarded the destruction of the duke of Savoy.

That duke, as if he had not had enough of business, had undertaken to support Peter de la Baume, bishop and prince of Geneva, against his rebellious subjects. He had gone so far as to lay siege to that city, upon which he had some claims. Francis threw in some succours there; but the inhabitants of Berne, their ancient allies, acted much more vigorously. They caused the duke to be told, that if he did not allow Geneva to live in peace, they would march



march to its assistance with all their forces, and that probably France would very seriously intermeddle in that quarrel.

Those threatenings were not vain. The duke, who pertinaciously continued the siege, soon perceived himself under a necessity to raise it upon the approach of 12,000 Bernians. He was not clear of them for so little; the Bernians took from him Lausanne, whence they expelled the bishop. His state was invaded on several other sides by his neighbours. The Genevans, being so well assisted by their friends of Berne, embraced their religion, and called Farel and Viret, disciples of Calvin, who did not widely differ from the sentiments of Zuinglius, who is followed at Berne. In this manner did the duke of Savoy, with many other countries, lose his hopes of Geneva.

Mean-time he would not, or durst not give satisfaction to France. Poyet wrote so to the king, who declared war in the beginning of February 1536, and gave the command to Philip de Chabot, count de Brion, admiral of France. To divert the storm from falling on the Milaneze, the emperor found himself obliged to declare in favour of the duke of Orleans.

To hear him, there needed nothing but to bring the admiral, who was already on his way to Italy, and who was to make a trip to the emperor, to regulate the form of the in-



vestiture ; but, notwithstanding his fair promises, the king discovered, that the emperor had just concluded a defensive alliance with the Venetians, and that he was tampering with the king of England against him. He received intelligence, that there seemed to be in all quarters in the emperor's countries great preparations for war. Doria was at sea with his fleet, and the pretext of the expedition against Algiers did not sufficiently conceal the real design of attacking France ; so the king resolved without delay to enter Savoy.

That state made no resistance, no more than Brescia. Pignerol surrendered at the first, and the troops began to march off to Piedmont, about the 6th of March 1536. A short time after, the admiral passed the great Doairo. The enemy who were guarding that river to the number of four or five thousand men, perceiving with what ardour our men plunged into the water, retired to Vercelli.

One of the legionaries swam over the river in search of a boat from the other side, and brought it amidst a continued fire of musketry. The admiral gave him a ring in presence of the whole army, according to the king's ordinance, who had established, after the example of the Romans, those military recompenses. Mean-time the emperor had sent some troops to the duke his brother-in-law, under the command of Antonio de Leva, who, judging that Turin was not in a condition to  
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make a defence, obliged the duke to abandon it. The place surrendered the 3d of April 1536, and Leva marched and incamped under Vercelli with 12,000 foot and 600 horse.

The admiral was stronger; but Velli, persuaded that the war of Savoy was an obstacle to the affair of Milan, prevailed so far with the king, that he recalled the order given to the admiral, no longer to spare any thing, and wrote to him on the contrary to proceed slowly. The emperor, on leaving Naples, had complained bitterly to the ambassador, of the attempt made against the duke his brother-in-law and his vassal; and, pursuing his journey to Rome, he caused him to be acquainted, that the king might send the admiral to conclude the affair of the Milanese, as being entirely agreed, provided only that he would withdraw his troops out of Piedmont.

Velli honestly believed him, without considering how many incidents might happen between the promise and the execution. In fact, the emperor, far from desiring to give the Milanese to one of the princes of France, had declared to the pope's legates, that he would never suffer France to have a foot of land in Italy, and he himself was pressing the Venetians to oppose the investiture of all foreigners.

The king had intelligence of those things; and, as he expected little from the negotiation,



tion, he had of new slackened the reins to the admiral, ordering him to fight the Imperialists, if he found them to his advantage, in the territories of the duke of Savoy ; but, that he might omit nothing, he resolved to send to Rome the cardinal de Lorraine, the man in the world most capable of treating with great princes, and of getting himself to be regarded by them. At the time he left France, the emperor was approaching Rome, into which he made his entry, the 5th of April 1536.

Some took it for a bad omen, that, in order to widen the road for his passage, the remains of the temple of Peace must be pulled down. The day after his arrival, he had a conference with the pope of six or seven hours ; after which the pope gave an audience to Velli, and the bishop of Macon, ambassadors from Francis to the holy see. They spoke to him with great precaution concerning the affair of the Milanese ; for, among other conversations with which the emperor had amused Velli, he had especially recommended secrecy about the affair of the Milanese, especially with the pope, who was, said he, the greatest opposer of the settlement of the duke of Orleans.

The ambassador was so excessively credulous, that he demanded the emperor's permission to communicate to the pope his good dispositions, and to intreat him to be favourable to the king, in an affair which the emperor



peror made to depend upon his Holiness; the emperor allowed it. The ambassador made his request; and the pope, after making, on the subject of the duke of Orleans, the same difficulties as the emperor, perhaps in concert with him; at last, being pressed by Velli, as if the affair had depended on him only, he told him he was afraid that all those conversations were but amusements.

Velli could hardly believe it, so much had the emperor and his ministers enchanted him with their flattering promises; but his colleague, having greater insight into business, opened his eyes. He perceived that the emperor was deceiving him, and he went in a great passion to complain of it. The emperor wanted not a reply; he owned his having offered the duchy to the duke of Orleans; but he said the king had not accepted his offers, since, instead of sending the admiral to ratify the treaty, he had sent him to make war on the duke of Savoy. Velli maintained, on the contrary, that the king had accepted by express letters, and that he had been in the right not to leave his army without a general, by sending the admiral on the expectation of an uncertain peace; but that he sent the cardinal de Lorraine to remove obstacles, that the admiral might have nothing to do but to ratify.

He added, that the king had interrupted, for the emperor's sake, all the treaties begun, and suspended the action of his arms, whilst  
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the emperor was only seeking pretexts for not keeping his word, and was making a jest of his master's credulity. Thereupon the emperor, either wearied or pressed, asked him, if he had power to conclude. That was not the question in hand, and Velli answered, that he had not.

The emperor thereupon broke off the treaty, saying, he had then no business with a man without powers, and turned his back upon Velli, who followed him in vain. He was not discouraged, and returned to the emperor, the very day after, under pretext of accompanying the bishop of Macon, who was going to wait upon that prince for the first time. He was overjoyed to see them, because he wanted to have them for witnesses of a speech, which he was meditating against the king. He was to go into the consistory, where the cardinals were already assembled with the ambassadors, and all the persons of highest eminence in Rome. The emperor obliged our ambassadors to follow him into that august assembly: it is observed, that he took a particular care to bring them in and place them.

The pope arrived a quarter of an hour after, whether it were a mark of dignity in him to make himself be waited, or that he intended to leave the emperor for some time to receive all the respects paid. As soon as he was seated, the emperor, with his cap in his hand,

hand \*, showed that he wanted to speak, and began a long harangue, which he pronounced with much dignity and vehemence. He said, that he had come to Rome for two reasons; the one, to kiss the pope's toes; the other, to show the desire he had always had to be in friendship with the king of France, in which not being able to succeed, he found himself forced to give an account of what had passed between them, that every one might judge who was in the right.

There he resumed all the differences of the house of Austria with that of France, from the time of Maximilian and Louis XII. He came to his own election to the empire, the first cause, said he, of the jealousy which Francis had entertained against him, and of the wars which he had raised against him. He upbraided that prince, as having violated all the treaties, first, that of Madrid, and then that of Cambray, and as never being willing to comply with the proposals which he, the emperor, had made to him both against the Turks, and for the extirpation of heresy; that he had, however, omitted nothing for his satisfaction; and that, after the death of Sforce, he had promised him the duchy of Milan for his third son, the Duke d'Angoulême, not judging it expedient for the tranquillity of Italy to give it to the duke of Or-

[\* Le bonnet au poing.]



leans, who had too many pretexts to disquiet it, by the claims of his wife.

He added, that whilst Francis, contrary to his promise, was stirring up against him, as much as he could, enemies in Germany and Italy, and while he was attacking without any reason the duke of Savoy his ally, and a subject of the empire, he had on his side only three offers to propose to him: first, that of peace, for which he offered Milan to the Duke d'Angouleme, on condition, that the king his father would concur in the extirpation of heresy, in the holding of a council which the pope had granted, in the tranquillity of Italy, and in the succouring Christendom against the Turk.

On the refusal of so reasonable an offer, he proposed a second; this was to decide between themselves their quarrel by single combat, and by that method to avoid greater effusion of blood. He left the choice of the arms to the king, and proposed to fight either in an island, or on a bridge, or in a boat, for he descended to all those particularities, as if the thing had been to take effect; and he would have, as a necessary condition of that duel, the duchy of Burgundy deposited on the one side, and that of Milan on the other, to be delivered to the conqueror.

The last offer which he made, was war: he said, he wished it had been in his power to have avoided it; but that, if he were forced to take up arms, nothing should make him

him lay them down, till either he or his enemy were stripped of his dominions : moreover, he made no doubt but that misfortune should fall upon Francis, he being an unjust aggressor, who was attacking the house of Austria, in the time of its greatest power for men and money. There he began to boast of the victories, the zeal, and the experience of his generals and his men, so far superior to the French, that were he sensible of his enemy's having the same advantage, he would go with a rope about his neck, to ask for his mercy. He declared, however, that he wanted peace by all honest means. He ended his speech by saying, in a louder tone, that he advised it, he desired it, he demanded it; and, after a small interruption, during which he threw his eyes on a paper which he had in his hand, he intreated the pope to judge which of the two was to blame.

The pope, in two words, commended the emperor for the love he showed for peace, to which he hoped the king would be no less disposed; he detested a duel, which would occasion Christendom to lose one of its supports; and, after declaring his resolution to remain neuter, he concluded, by saying, that he could not prevent his employing the authority of the church against the party which should appear unreasonable.

It was strange to see the weakness of the ambassadors of France : not only did they quietly suffer the emperor to tear the reputation



tation of their master; but, after he was silent, the bishop of Macon was satisfied with saying a word concerning the peace, and thought for the rest he had sufficiently done his duty, by answering, that he did not understand the Spanish, in which language the emperor had spoken.

With regard to Velli, he drew near, as if to ask to be heard, and gave the emperor an opportunity of using him more contemptuously, by answering him harshly, that he was wearied of promises, and wanted performances; as for the rest, that he should give his speech to the ambassador in writing, and that at present he could have no further audience: this said, he rose, and left the company very much surpris'd.

The challenge, of which the execution was impossible, seem'd to be a boast very unbecoming so great a prince; but his uncautiousness in his discourse made it be believed, that he had forces able to ruin France. He boasted of it publicly, and fill'd Europe with the report of his prodigious preparations. He was, however, afraid that he had been too free in his declarations; and the day after, he did what he could to soften his harangue in presence of the pope, of the whole court of Rome, and of Velli.

The pope himself took pains to appease our ambassadors, and made them promise, that, in order to the blessing of peace, they should write matters to the king in the smoothest



smoothest manner possible. The credulous Velli kept his word, and, moved with the new promises which the emperor, on leaving Rome, had made to him by his ministers, which he left there, he thought he did his master a service in concealing from him the most provoking part in the harangue; especially he took care not to write him the slighting words which the emperor had spoken against the French, well knowing that the king would not easily put up with that affront against his kingdom, and the pitiful weakness with which he was upbraided.

Whilst the emperor was exaggerating his power in words, he had very near have felt bad effects of that of the army of France, which was at that time stronger than his own. The admiral having advanced upon the orders which he had received, resolved to take Vercelli by storm; but the cardinal de Lorraine, coming up at the time, stopped him short. He had intelligence, in a letter from Velli, of what had passed in the consistory; but Velli diminished every thing as much as he could, and he exhorted the cardinal not to be discouraged.

He had no need of that advice; for he had such confidence in his own eloquence, and the strength of his reasoning, that he had almost no doubts of persuading the emperor. So he made the admiral give over, by virtue of an order which he brought him to pay deference to his sentiments, and he con-

cluded a suspension of arms with Antonio de Leva, who being weaker still by half than the French, was glad to get off in so advantageous a way.

The cardinal had nothing farther to do, than to prosecute his journey to the emperor, whom he met at Sienna. He found him inflexible on the subject of the duke of Orleans. He persisted in proposing the duke d'Angouleme, on marrying him to one of his own nieces, and on condition that he should hold the duchy, not as an estate in which he had succeeded his ancestors; but by a new investiture, like a fief that had fallen to the empire by the death of Sforce, and that the king should never have it in his power to intermeddle with that state.

It is a surprising thing, that he was not taken at his word. He might probably have formed other incidents; but at least that one had been finished, and he might have been shown to be in the wrong; but it was never the wish of the French, that the children of the king should have any estate to expect otherwise than from their father, and, perhaps, there had already been perceived in the two brothers, a foundation of that jealousy which was more apparent in the sequel.

Whatever be in that, the cardinal spoke only of the duke of Orleans, and the emperor remained firm in his resolution of hearing of none but the Duke d'Angouleme. A part of those conferences were passed in alter-

cations,

cations, on what the emperor had promised; he did not own it, and spoke always higher in proportion as he perceived his forces assembling. At last the cardinal, despairing of being able to conquer him, was obliged to write to the king, that there was little hopes of peace, and to the admiral to be upon his guard.

It remained for him to try what could be done by the pope's mediation. He went to Rome, and the pope frankly owned to him, that the emperor's plain tendency was to war, but he knew no remedy for it: only he sent two legates, in order to reconcile the two princes, and he advised the king to yield to the times which he believed to be against France.

Leva's army was turning stronger, and ours, which was beginning to grow weaker, was only contriving to defend themselves in the fortified places, till the king should send them a reinforcement. The admiral conjured him in his turn to amuse the emperor as much as he could, and at least to gain a month to give him leisure to finish the fortifications of Turin, and the king on the contrary wanted him to stand fast in Piedmont, to give him time to raise some men.

Mean-time, the emperor ordered to be shown to the king, by Leidekerque his ambassador, his harangue in the consistory with some extenuations. Leidekerque was forbid to leave a copy of it; but the king, never-



theless, himself dictated an answer addressed to the pope and the cardinals. The most remarkable part of it was the manner in which he treated the duel, a thing before proposed, and acknowledged as impossible. Wherefore he did not on that subject put on the air of bravery, and did not answer seriously to a challenge which he well knew could never be put in execution: "For," said he, "our swords  
"are too short to fight at such a distance;  
"but if we met in any battle, in which the  
"emperor and I might be, I should show my  
"inclination to satisfy him."

It was a small matter to make a good answer to words; preparations were to be made for more bloody battles. The emperor had three armies: one of 50,000 men, which he designed to command in person, and with which he intended to make an irruption into Provence; another, which was to be no less, was assembling in the Low Countries, under the command of the count de Nassau, in order to enter Picardy; and a third in Spain, which threatened Languedoc.

With such numerous armies, he proposed nothing less to himself, than to swallow up France all at once, so much the more as he thought he had hindered them from making any levies, either in Swisserland or in Germany; he intended, that at the same time that he should enter Provence, Nassau should enter Picardy. He wanted for that purpose a little time, and he endeavoured to gain it  
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by continuing to amuse Velli, whom he engaged to write to the king to send the admiral, to conclude the affair of the Milanese.

When the king got that intelligence, after having accounts, that all was in arms against France : " How," said he, " would the emperor still flatter us with some hopes ? certainly he wants to have my general for an ambassador, that he may fall upon the army unexpectedly. What shall we do with this man ? If we do not send him the admiral, he will make that a subject of complaint ; and if we send him, we shall reap no profit by it : but happen what will, and what God has resolved, let us show to friends and foes that we have done every thing possible to prevent war."

Upon saying this, he sent the admiral all the orders necessary for putting Piedmont in a state of defence. He commanded him to throw into the garrison-towns all the men that were needful, and afterward to retire with the remainder of the army into a secure place toward France, where he might wait for reinforcements. He was to leave the command of the army remaining in Italy, to Francis marquis de Saluces, a man of skill in war, in whom the king had a particular confidence ; and as for himself, he had an order to go to the emperor, if the cardinal de Lorraine called him.

At the same that the king sent those orders,

ders, he provided for the safety of Picardy and Champagne, and ordered men to be raised in all quarters with the utmost expedition. He likewise sent the Marquis d'Humieres into Dauphiné, to fortify the garrison-towns, and to reassure the people who were in terror. He gave some men to the king of Navarre, governor of Guienne, to keep the Spaniards in awe; and he sent Langei to regain the confidence of the German princes who were alienated from France by the bad impressions given them by the emperor.

As they had been persuaded, that the king's intention was war, and that he intended to deprive the empire of the Milanese, Langei had orders, on the contrary, to submit his affair with the emperor to the judgment of the diet, because it belonged to it to take cognisance of the claims of all the vassals of the empire, such as he and his sons acknowledged themselves to be on account of that duchy.

After giving his orders, he deliberated in his council concerning the manner of carrying on the war, and resolved immediately to march where the emperor might be, as well judging that the grand effort would be there. He declared, however, that he would not hazard a battle; but only ruin the flat country in his march, in order to waste away his army; and, during that time, there might come every day recruits to the French army, and



and that of the emperor would be ruined of itself. In this resolution he steadily waited till the emperor should begin; he had not long to wait. Antonio de Leva had already passed the Sechia with 20,000 foot, and 600 horse. The emperor was to follow him with the rest of the army, and ordered him to lay siege to Turin.

The admiral, in his retreat, had left there 100 horsemen in complete armour, 300 light horse, and 100 foot. There were some other troops in Piedmont, capable of annoying the Imperialists; but the marquis de Saluces, who had the command of them, betrayed the king's interest, and kept a correspondence with Leva.

He had forgot that the king had given him in a free gift the marquisate of Saluces, a fief of Dauphiné, which had returned to the crown, and that besides he had lately loaded him with new benefactions. Nevertheless he preferred the emperor to him, being dazzled with the predictions of the astrologers, who prognosticated to that prince the empire of the world, and with the equal vain promises of Antonio de Leva. He was base enough to keep the command of the army in order to destroy all, had he been able. He intended at first to abandon all the fortified places except Turin. Upon the resistance which he found from the French generals, he made a show of intending to defend Fossano and Coni; but he caused the provisions in Fossano to be unnecessarily

unnecessarily consumed, and under pretext of carrying thither the artillery and ammunition of Coni, he had them carried to Revel, one of his own garrison-towns.

He afterward openly declared for the emperor, and only by a short time prevented the orders which were given for seizing him. He said, in excuse for his defection, that his marquisate naturally held of the empire, and that it was an usurpation in the Dauphins to assume the homage of it to themselves. At the same time Antonio de Leva, whom he had informed of the bad condition of Fossano, came and laid siege to it, and left only 10,000 men to lay siege to that of Turin. That expedition saved France; for the siege of Turin advanced slowly, and Leva found in Fossano an unexpected resistance.

Montpezat, who commanded there, was accompanied by Villebon and Roche-du-maine, two officers of experience. They all together consulted of what importance it was to stop the first progress of the emperor's arms, and to give time to the king. So they resolved to defend themselves till the last extremity. They began with a sally, in which Leva, who had the gout, ordered himself to be thrown into a corn-field to save him; and the panic was so great, that he was forgot to be taken thence, till the day after. As the marquis had given him a list of the provisions in Fossano, he did not press the siege for twelve days, and was surprised that the place did

did not surrender. He was so persuaded that our men would abandon it, that he had left them a free passage to retire to Coni; they made use of it to furnish themselves with water; and as to the rest, by the great regularity observed in the distribution of the provisions, that place which Leva expected to carry at the first, was not yet speaking of a capitulation at the end of twenty-six days: for though there was a breach in it, Leva was apprehensive of losing too many men in the assault, and he invited Montpezat to a treaty by means of Roche-du-maine, who was his old acquaintance.

Most of the officers wished rather to die than surrender; but Villebon, who was inferior to none either for valour or for zeal, remonstrated to them that it was not doing the king good service, to make him lose the best troops he had, in a place which could no longer hold out. His opinion was followed; and Roche-du-maine played his part so well, that by the capitulation he gained ten or twelve days, which were the remainder of the month of June 1536, at the end of which the surrender was to be made if no succour came.

Eight days after the agreement, the emperor came to visit his camp; there he found Roche-du-maine, as an hostage; and he had a conversation with him which the historians have thought worth remarking, particularly the answer which he made, when asked by the  
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the emperor how many days \* there might yet be to Paris; he told him, that if he took days for battles, there might possibly be twelve, if the aggressor were not knocked on the head in the first. He represented to the emperor, that he and his master were too powerful to ruin each other; and besides he wished that so fine an army as his were employed in an expedition in which it might expect better success.

The emperor esteemed that gentleman, but he attributed his answers to his zeal for his prince. Besides, there was nothing that he dreaded less than the arms of Francis: wherefore when the two legates spoke to him by order of the pope, they found him not much disposed to hearken to proposals of peace; but as they had orders to intimate to him, as well as to the king, the convocation of the general council, to meet at Mantua the following year, he answered that he should be there in person, and none under God should be able to hinder him from it; (he thought he should by that time be master of France); and as for peace, he told the legate, he should hearken to that when the king, after restoring the duke of Savoy, should ask it of him.

Charles V. had continually in his sight a map of Provence, which the marquis of Sa-

[\* The French word here is *journées*, which signifies likewise battles, as *La journée de Fontenoy*, "the battle of Fontenoy."

lucis had given him, and vexed that Fossano had so long interrupted the course of his victories, he resolved to enter that province, without waiting till he had reduced the other places of Piedmont. The wisest persons of his council in vain remonstrated against the danger of leaving behind him so many French garrisons, and of engaging himself in a country where he could not be long without falling short of provisions: he answered, that it was far better that France should be the theatre of the war than Italy; that Francis would be attacked in so many places by sea and land, that he could not know to which side to turn; that he would have neither Swiss nor German foot, and so would be reduced to have no infantry but French, who were but sorry foot-soldiers; nevertheless, said he, as Francis is valiant, he will never endure to be attacked without giving battle, and he must necessarily be worsted: so he promised himself a victory, not only certain, but speedy and easy.

It is said, that Leva, who underhand incited him to that expedition, made a show in public of diverting him from it, in order to leave to himself the glory of having conceived alone an enterprise as uncertain as arduous; strange! that the predictions of astrologers should on this occasion have been an argument for attempting it. Leva allowed himself to be flattered with the great success which they promised him; but the emperor,

in order to do things more publicly, assembled the army, whose last advice, said he, he wanted to take.

He harangued his men, whom he called his companions, and whose valour the French had so many times experienced. He represented to them France as already conquered, and insinuated, that beside open force he had secret intelligence, by which he expected to see himself obeyed at Paris in a few days; the soldiers answered by acclamations, and the emperor immediately begun the march toward Provence. He divided his army in four; the least part remained to continue the siege of Turin, and conquer Piedmont, the rest marched in three bodies towards Nice. The baggage and artillery were sent by sea under the conduct of Andrew Doria, who commanded the fleet.

The emperor took it as a good omen to arrive at St Laurent, the first garrison-town in France, on the 25th of July 1536, dedicated to St James the patron of Spain, a day which besides he reckoned lucky on account of the advantage that he had had the same day in Africa, against the Infidels. This incident gave him occasion to harangue his soldiers once more, and to tell them that they were to fight against a king who was only a Christian in name, and who had renounced the faith of his ancestors, by the alliance which he had made with the Turks. His speech was long and energetic: he concluded it



it by assuring his men, that one single battle would make them masters of the whole kingdom of France: or rather that only by showing themselves to troops already defeated by terror, they should speedily make that conquest.

Thenceforward there was no conversation in the emperor's army, but of the donations which he would give to his servants, of the employments, the estates, and the governments of France. He expected every day intelligence from the count de Nassau, who was to enter Picardy, and who, in fact, passed the river Somme at the same time.

The king, mean-time, was at Lyons, and foreseeing that the emperor would secure himself of Avignon, in order to have a passage on the Rhone, he sent the marshal de Montmorenci, grand master of the ordnance, and household troops of France, with the readiest part of the army. His only orders were to hazard nothing, and lay the country waste through which the emperor was to march.

The grand master went and visited the garrisons of Provence, fortified the good and abandoned the weak, among the rest Antibes and Aix, the capital of the province, and seat of the parliament. It may be imagined how great the consternation of the people was, and how much the courage of the enemy was inflated by that melancholy state of affairs. There was even no thoughts of harassing them on their march. The king had only divided

his army in two: one part had advanced with the grand master, who intrenched it toward Cavaillon, between the Rhone and the Durance. Lautrec incamped under Valence, where the king quickly joined them: there he remained stedfast; that if the grand master's army were defeated, that of Valence might serve him for a retreat, and that the emperor might find a second army, as strong as the first, to oppose him.

It was very difficult thus to keep the French shut up in a camp contrary to the genius of the nation; they demanded to be led to the enemy, especially those who were nearest them, and they pressed the grand master to march boldly against the emperor, before all his army were assembled. He stopped them by his remonstrances, that to hazard a battle, were to hazard the whole kingdom: so they stood on the defensive, and those who were laying the country waste before the emperor's army, had orders to give way as fast as it should advance, that it might get no advantage over them.

There was none but Montéjan, who by strength of importunity obtained from the grand master permission to skirmish with the enemy's vanguard, commanded by Ferrand de Gonzague. Boissi joined him; and as they had 2000 men of the garrison of Fossano, they thought that with such good troops they might get some advantages by attacking the enemy in passes in the mountains toward

Grasse:

Grasse: but they were surpris'd at Brignole; whence making their retreat through hollow roads, they had the advantage though weaker, till being pushed into the open field, they yielded to superior force.

Montéjan and Boissi were taken with most of their men, and with difficulty did three horsemen in complete armour escape. It has at all times been a stratagem of the Spaniards to exaggerate their advantages. They published that they had cut in pieces the king of France's vanguard, and taken his two favourites; and this they extolled so much, that several princes declared for them, and they spread the panic as far as our army.

The grand master, after putting in order the fortifications of the city of Arles, returned in all haste to Avignon to recover them from their fright. The steady and agreeable manner in which he behaved, gained him the affection of the whole army. Every morning, at sun-rising, after hearing mass, (for it is remarked that he began with that act of piety), he never failed to give audience to any body. He visited the fortifications, and so hastened the works, that in a short time his camp was almost impregnable. He was particularly careful not only that it should be strong, but that it should be clean, to prevent distempers, and to preserve the men in good humour, by the agreeable disposition of their quarters.

Accounts were brought at the same time,



that the count de Nassau had made himself master of Guise, by the cowardice of the garrison and of the governor, who made no resistance. This intelligence came to the king the same day as that of the defeat of Montéjan. Such bad beginnings only made him more attentive to his affairs; but he heard a few days after a piece of news still more afflicting. This was the death of the Dauphin Francis, a young prince whose prudence was above his age, and who enjoyed the hearts of the whole court. He had been ill during the journey to Valence, and four days after he died at Tournon of pains and strange convulsions, which raised a suspicion that he was poisoned.

The king's grief was very great, and his constancy was admired by every body. He had great great failings with regard to the fair sex; but God, of his goodness, had not permitted that passion entirely to stifle in him the sentiments of religion, which revived in him from time to time on extraordinary occasions. At this time, he was first perceived to fetch deep sighs, but all at once, after a little reflection, he lifted his hands and eyes to heaven, in humble submission to the will of God, and hearty acknowledgment that he alone could give him the strength necessary for bearing so great an affliction.

After he had thus resigned himself to the divine disposal, he begun to comfort others; and calling the duke of Orleans, now become Dauphin, he told him that it was his duty to  
comfort

comfort him, by reviving the virtues and good qualities of his brother, whom he ought not only to imitate, but to surpass. He then begun anew to employ himself about his affairs; and eased his own affliction by the care which he bestowed on them. Never were they more pressing, and since the Dauphin's death, the king every day heard of some new attempt of the enemy. After the taking of Guise, Nassau had advanced into Picardy. He burnt all the country, and spread the panic as far as Paris. At last, on the 12th of August 1536, (it was on the same day that the king lost the Dauphin), he came and attacked Péronne, which he thought to carry at the first assault, because there was but a weak garrison in it.

At the same time the emperor had made himself master of Toulon, and had sacked the city of Aix, which he left on the 15th of August 1536, to besiege Marseilles. He had like to have been killed there by a cannon-shot when going to reconnoitre the place with the marquis de Guast. He regulated matters, and returned to Aix, which he had made his place of arms. When setting out, he sent the marquis de Guast to attempt the taking of Arles, and he left the charge of the siege of Marseilles to the duke d'Alba; but matters went not on so fast as he had proposed.

The marshal de la Mark found means to get into Péronne, with 100 horsemen in armour, and 1000 foot; which put it in a state of defence.

fence. As to Paris, the cardinal de Bellei who was bishop of it, and whom the king had made his lieutenant-general, ordered every thing so well, that that great city was in a short time furnished with provisions for a year. The attempt upon Arles failed, by the incredible diligence and pains which the grand master bestowed on its fortifications; it was in so good a condition that they durst not attack it. Marseilles feared nothing, being strong in itself, and well supplied in officers, men, victuals, and all sorts of stores.

The Imperialists, on the contrary, suffered much; in their marches the peasants had killed many of their men, and the emperor's person had been many times in danger. The garrisons of Piedmont incommoded them very much, by defeating their convoys, and burning their magazines. Since their being at Aix, a town remote from Toulon, whence the emperor caused his provisions to be brought, they were almost in want of bread, and there was none to be seen, but at the table for the general officers.

In this scarcity, the soldiers, especially the Germans, fell upon the delicious grapes, which that country produces, and were dying of the dysentery. The emperor had in vain attempted to engage the pope and the Italian princes to assist him in a war which he said he had undertaken solely for their common interest. The pope had answered, that the Turk alone would reap advantage from



from that war, and that he was very averse from maintaining a fire, which he would wish to extinguish with his own blood. The Italian potentates had excused themselves for similar reasons.

Mean-time, the king's forces were increasing every day. Boisrigauld, his ambassador to the Swiss, notwithstanding the violent solicitations of the emperor's ministers, had the skill to persuade the cantons, that they were ruining themselves in suffering France to be ruined, and that they would lose not only the large pensions which they drew from so great a kingdom, but likewise all the means of defending their liberty against the power of Austria. Moved with these arguments, they permitted considerable levies. It is true they were not publicly made; the men came one after another, by by-paths, to join their comrades, who were already in great numbers in the king's army. He received them at Valence, and gave himself a gold chain to each of their captains.

His army was almost equal to that of the emperor, and he still expected new reinforcements. Count Gui de Rangon had reassembled in Italy 10,000 foot, and 600 horse, which the king had ordered him to disband, to satisfy the emperor, a little before they came to open force. He sent the daupin with the title of general into the army commanded by the grand master. He told him, at setting out, that he sent him  
not

not to command, but to learn to command, under so great a general. "Go," says he, "and behave so, that if you were not what you are, it may be wished you were so."

At the dauphin's arrival, the young nobility who followed him, spoke of nothing but fighting, and accused the grand master of cowardice. To hear them, there was nothing so easy as to raise the siege, and they were answerable for the success; but the grand master, who knew that one of the greatest qualities of a general, was not to allow himself to be moved by the discourses and reproaches of his own men, remained firm in his intention of hazarding nothing. He knew the sorry condition of the emperor's troops, who were turning weaker every day; so he was satisfied with giving them continual alarms, beating their foragers, and cutting off their provisions.

It was not he only that carried them off; a convoy, which the emperor had caused to be prepared at Toulon with great care, was defeated in the road by the peasants. The Duke d'Aba saw nothing but famine and mortality in his camp. The rest of the army, which was incamped in the neighbourhood of Aix, was in no better condition. Antonio de Leva died there of a disease, to which his grief for the bad state of affairs, which every body imputed to his counsels, highly contributed.

Mean-time, Gui de Rangon made, along  
with

with Cæsar Fregoso, one of the generals of his army, an attempt upon Genoa : it was unsuccessful through their want of artillery. They marched toward Piedmont, that they might not remain unserviceable. On their approach the Imperialists quitted the siege of Turin, on the 3d of September. Those victorious troops retook the whole marquissate of Saluces, and several places of Piedmont in which there were provisions for the army at Aix ; thus distress increasing in it every day, the emperor was beginning to think of a retreat, and nothing detained him but the shame of turning back, after making so much noise. At last he was forced to yield to necessity ; for even though his fleet, commanded by Andrew Doria, had brought him some provisions, there was not enough for finishing his enterprize.

He caused his artillery to be embarked, and to cover his retreat, he ordered his men to keep themselves in readiness to march, as if he had had some great scheme. The king, who could not be persuaded that he could return without attempting any thing, did not doubt of his coming to attack the grand master, he hastened to him with all speed ; but as soon as he was arrived in the camp, he was informed that the emperor was on his march back to Italy. Where-ever his army passed, he left the whole country full of dead or dying persons ; and of 50,000 fighting men,



men, scarcely did he carry back 25,000 or 30,000.

The grand master, and even the king himself was blamed, for not pursuing an army which was retiring in so sorry a condition. The opinion of not fighting seemed no longer seasonable, at a time when there was nothing to hazard; and the emperor himself often said afterward, that he owed his safety to the grand master's circumspection; but they were so glad to be freed from the dread of losing all, that they had no thoughts of profiting by so favourable an opportunity. It was pretended, that they must go and succour Péronne, which was supposed in straits. It no longer needed succours.

The marshal de la Marck, after sustaining four furious assaults, reduced the enemy to be able to attempt nothing. So they were forced to raise the siege, and the king got accounts of it immediately after the emperor's retreat, that is, about the 15th of September. The raising of the siege of Péronne gave no less joy to all France, than that of the siege of Marseilles; for, as the king had opposed the emperor with a strong force on the side of Provence, there was less to be feared there; but all was in danger on the side of Picardy, where Nassau had nothing to fight with, but the garrisons in the towns.

Langei was partly the cause of the good success of our affairs, by diverting the troops which were to come from Germany for augmenting

menting the enemy's armies. He had left France in the beginning of June, as soon as he had received his orders. The cross accidents that he met with in his journey and in his negotiations are incredible; for the emperor, who remembered the great things that he had done against him in Germany, no sooner heard that the king was again sending him thither, than he resolved to put every thing in motion to prevent his passage. He had placed some troops on the banks of the Rhine, and their commanders had all Langei's picture, which had been got taken so like, that it was impossible to mistake him.

In fact, as he was ready to pass, so well disguised, that he imagined he might deceive the most clear sighted, he perceived all at once that he was discovered. An officer whom he did not know, after saluting him in French by his name, in a low voice, told him in the same tone, that he had two words to speak to him, in a house which he showed him. Langei entered, and understood, that that gentlemen, who had an order for seizing him, desired nothing so much as to do him a kindness.

He was a German officer who had formerly served in France, under the count de Furstemberg, and who in a great strait, to which he had been reduced by the loss of his baggage, had received some instance of liberality from Langei. He had always remembered with how good a grace he had obliged him;

and, to give him an evidence of his gratitude for it, he showed him his orders, and acquainted him how many officers had similar instructions. In short, he advised him to return into France, and offered him for that purpose every kind of conveniency. But Langei answered him in a few words, according to his custom, that his life was his country's; that he was going to serve his prince; and that nothing but imprisonment or death should be able to stop him. He began to relate to that gentleman the wrong doing to his master in Germany, and how much his good intentions were there concealed. At last he explained to him the orders which he had to give all satisfaction to the Germanic body, and prevailed so far by his conversation, that that officer, who was intrusted to arrest him, thought he was serving his own prince by facilitating his passage.

So Langei arrived in the territories of Saxony, where he was safe, and went thence to Munich to the duke of Bavaria. He had no less difficulty in his negotiation than he had had in his journey. The Germans had been persuaded, that the king made war only to facilitate the entry of the Turks into the Christian countries. A thousand false stories had been told of the cruel usage of the German merchants in France, and even of the French who had any trade with Germany, whom the king, it was said, put to death as Lutherans, without hearing their defences. They were not



not satisfied with rendering the king odious, they made him contemptible.

The emperor's ministers had dispersed a vast number of copies of the harangue which that prince had made in the consistory; but they had dressed it up after their own fashion, and they therein made the emperor talk so haughtily, that it might have been thought that the king of France, compared with him, was but a petty prince. They had even dispersed a written challenge, which was said to have been presented to the king, surrounded by his princes and barons, by a herald who brought him an enamelled sword, on one side of the colour of blood, and, on the other, in the form of flames, to denounce war against him with fire and sword, if he did not desist from that which he was making, in conjunction with the Turk, against the Christian religion.

Things so vain had made so strong an impression on the minds of the populace, that they run emulously to enlist against the king, reckoning him as destroyed, and France as their prey. Langei, at the beginning, was not even heard; but he caused so many letters and memorials to be printed in Latin, in German, and in French, that at last the eyes of many were opened.

The declaration and positive assurance that he gave, in the king's name, to submit all their differences to the diet of the empire, had a great effect; but what completely un-

deceived the populace, was the merchants, who were coming from the fairs at Lyons, and who, instead of complaining of any bad usage, were very full, on the contrary, of the vast offers which the king had made them for facilitating commerce, even in case of a rupture, binding himself to furnish them to the extent of four or five hundred thousand écus \*, to be repaid in France or in Germany after or during the war. Langei answered in the same way upon all the other articles; and so satisfied the princes and the people, that instead of 13,000 foot, which were to fall down upon Champagne, scarce remained there two or three thousand, under the command of the king of the Romans. He sent one part of them to Italy, and the other to the count de Nassau; but so weak a reinforcement had no remarkable effect, and so all the emperor's measures proved fruitless.

Though it was resolved not to pursue the emperor with the whole army, some cavalry were detached after him; he had a great many men killed, and was obliged to leave a vast number of sick. He had very great difficulty to extricate himself out of the mountains; but at last he got to Genoa, where his galleys waited him, in order to carry him back to Spain; he saw two of them perish in the offing of Genoa, and he lost six more in the voyage. He thought to diminish the losses which he had

[\* About 50,000 or 62,500 l. Sterling, at eight écus for a pound, as at present.]

suffered by sea and land, by saying every where, that he should soon enter France again, with such a force as it could not resist.

As to the king, he returned to Lyons, where, during his stay, was brought on the trial of an Italian, who had poisoned the dauphin. His name was Sebastian Montécuculi. He had been laid up on very slight suspicions. He had only been perceived turning about a vessel in which some cold water was carrying for the dauphin's drinking. He confessed his crime on the rack; and moreover declared, that he had been bribed by Antonio de Leva, and by Ferrand de Gonzague, adding, that he had promised in the same manner to destroy the king and his two other sons.

The Imperialists made a jest of a declaration forcibly extorted, and which was so improbable. They attributed the young prince's death to excesses, which were but too true, and which the king had had difficulty to repress. The suspicion afterward fell on Catherine of Medicis, as being interested in a death which secured her the crown. Whatever be in that, the criminal was torn asunder by four horses; and they were very glad at court, that the dauphin's death was imputed to the Imperialists.

Francis, on leaving Lyons, met the king of Scotland on the Paris road. On the first news of the war, this prince had raised 16,000 men in his dominions. He had embarked with them, to come and assist the



king ; and, though twice beat back by storms, his zeal was not abated, and he landed in Normandy with a part of his army. He took post, that he might be at the battle, which it was thought the emperor was to fight ; but getting intelligence of his retreat, he waited for the king in his passage, in order to demand from him in marriage his daughter Magdalen, whom the king had given him reason to expect.

After some difficulties, the marriage was celebrated at Blois, to the great satisfaction of the king of Scotland, who thought himself honoured by that alliance. There was an eternal jealousy between the kings of England and Scotland ; so this match disobliged Henry, and he had well nigh anew joined the emperor. Catherine, who had been the occasion of their rupture, died a year after the pope's sentence. She had, before her death, seen her rival become odious to the king her husband. He was in love with another mistress, and in the sequel he put Anne Bullen to death, on account of her impurities.

The emperor, thus disburdened of his duty of protection to his aunt, and freed from the bad offices done him by Anne her enemy, invited Henry to enter with him into their former confederacies against France. He was inclined to do so, and could not pardon Francis for refusing to go all lengths with him in his resentments against the holy see ; but his schism, and the cruelties used by him  
for

for supporting it, had put his kingdom in confusion.

He had ordered Sir Thomas More his chancellor, and John Fisher bishop of Rochester, whom the pope had created a cardinal in the prison, to be beheaded. These were the two greatest men in England, whom the king had never been able to gain. Such as followed their sentiments, were afraid of sharing the same fate; and as they were very numerous, they made a considerable party. Henry, who had had difficulty to appease them, was apprehensive of them, and durst not engage himself in new broils. But Francis knew his inconstancy; besides, he was provoked against the emperor, who, whilst amusing him with fair promises about the Milanese, had almost put himself in a condition of crushing him at once, and he considered how much he might have to fear, should the king of England join so powerful an enemy.

Thus his distrusts, his jealousies, and his indignation against the emperor, who had treated him so contemptuously, the shame of being deceived, and above all his ardent passion for recovering so fine a duchy, the ancient heritage of his ancestors, made him enter into a scheme which would not have been expected from his courage. This was to make an alliance with the Turk, and even to instigate him against Christendom. Those who want to excuse him, say that it was not the

the emperor's fault, that he did not procure for himself such a support, and accuse him for not opposing as much as he was able the enterprises of the Ottomans, in order to keep at under the states of Germany, and even his own brother Ferdinand. But however that be, the person who is most successful in such undertakings is always the most unhappy.

Christendom has got a great example on this head in Louis XIV. who perceiving he was attacked by all Europe, and even by the emperor, and all the states of the empire, without his having given them any reason, was so averse from making use of the Turk, that, perceiving him resolved to make war either on Poland or Hungary, he would not even determine him to the choice which was most for the interest of France.

Charles and Ferdinand had their ambassadors at the Porte, and they omitted nothing to prevent La Forest, whom Francis had sent thither, from obtaining an audience of Soliman; but that gentleman, being of a very ready wit, found means to be introduced in spite of the ministers whom the house of Austria had bribed. He acquainted Soliman, that the emperor, who had just lost in France his character and his best troops, could not be in a condition to defend his dominions in Italy, if he were attacked there on two sides; so he invited him to occupy the coasts of Naples with a powerful fleet, whilst the king should on his side enter the Milanese.

Soliman



Soliman was not wanting to his own interest, and he promised La Forest that his fleet should appear toward the spring. He did more; he broke with the republic of Venice, under pretext that in the treaty which they had just made with the emperor, there was an article by which the republic entered into a confederacy with him for the defence of Italy. Soliman interpreted that article against the Venetians, and seized all their ships that were in his ports. This is what was preparing at a distance against the emperor.

In France, during the winter, great preparations were making for the ensuing campaign; but the king, to give more splendour to his enterprises, caused hostilities to be preceded by the forms of justice. The king took his seat in the parliament of Paris, with the princes of his blood, and the peers and lords of his kingdom. There his advocate-general remonstrated, that the emperor, who owed fidelity to the king for his counties of Flanders, Artois, and Charolois, had been guilty of various acts of rebellion against his sovereign lord: and he showed the invalidity of the treaties of Madrid and Cambray made by the king when a prisoner, or in order to get out of confinement, his sons left as hostages, and he concluded that those counties were confiscated and reannexed to the crown.

There was a show made of advising, and a sentence was pronounced, by which the king  
ordained

ordained the emperor to be summoned on the frontier to send some person to make answer to the conclusions of the procurator-general.

The summons was executed by a herald, and no body appearing on the charge, the king, by the advice of his parliament, adjudged to the procurator-general what he demanded. In order to execute this decree, after supplying Terouenne with provisions, he took the field about the end of March 1537, with an army of 25 or 26,000 men.

The grand master Montmorenci was his lieutenant-general. He besieged the castle of Hesdin, and three weeks were fruitlessly employed in sapping the place. The king then himself pointed out a place for a battery, and the breach in three days was three fathoms long. Immediately the young nobility run to the assault in a disorderly manner, and were repulsed with loss. It was necessary to forbid, on pain of death, any such thing to be attempted: a short time after the place surrendered. St Pol likewise surrendered, and some small places; and this is all that was done that campaign.

The king staid some time after to get St Pol fortified, which an Italian engineer promised him to render impregnable. Much time and vast expense were employed about it; but the king leaving it on the 3d of May 1537, a month after, the place being attacked by the count de Bure, governor of the Low-Countries, was taken by assault in less than

than three days, with its governor, and a numerous garrison which the king had left in it. The count caused the place to be demolished, as being commanded by too many places to be fortified; after which he took Montreuil without difficulty, and laid siege to Terroune.

When the king retired from Picardy, it was thought he was going to Italy, to execute the treaty with Soliman. Barberossa had appeared toward the month of May 1537 on the coasts of Naples with a formidable fleet; for though Soliman had no ships when the negotiation began, he ordered eighty to be built in Egypt, and he was so punctually obeyed, that they were ready at the time he had promised. He waited in Albany till Barberossa had taken some places on the coast, in order to enter Italy with 100,000 men. When he was informed that the king, instead of attacking the Milanese, was making war in Picardy, he returned to Constantinople, full of indignation and disdain at the king; but his interest prevented him from breaking with him.

Barberossa provoked that his master had made so considerable an armament, endeavoured to surprise the island of Corfou. He found it so well provided, that he durst not attack it, and only pillaged some places on the coast, whence he carried off fifteen or sixteen thousand prisoners. The count de Bure was distressing Terouenne; and as after  
twelve



twelve days siege it was in want of powder and musketeers, Annebaut found means to bring in in the night-time four hundred, with each a bag of powder; but at his return a great many of the young nobility who had followed him, wanting to alarm the enemy, found them on horseback, and were roughly received by them: Annebaut was obliged to return in order to disengage his followers, but he was surrounded, and taken with almost all his men.

Mean-time the Dauphin was with the grand master about Abbeville, where he was collecting troops to raise the siege. The count de Bure, expecting no longer to succeed in his enterprize, made proposals of a suspension of arms in order to treat of peace. It was accepted for three months, and thereby affairs in Italy were ended.

In Piedmont the marquis du Guast took the castle of Carmagnole, where Francis marquis de Saluces was killed when taking a view of the place. The affairs of France were in a bad situation by the divisions among the generals, and the failure of money. So the marquis du Guast easily retook all the good places in Piedmont, excepting Turin and Pignerol: he kept this last place blockaded. To remedy those disorders, the king sent first some money with an army of 36,000 foot and 1400 horsemen in complete armour.

He went to Lyons the 6th of October

1537, and on the 10th, before all the troops were assembled, the Dauphin, attended by the grand master, advanced with 12,000 foot and 200 horse, resolved to drive from the pass of Susa 10,000 men whom the marquis had placed there to guard it. The grand master, after examining some heights, whence he could see into the intrenchments, took possession of them, and drove off the Imperialists with his musketeers. The marquis, who was incamped at Rivoli, there received his men, and immediately dislodging, left Pignerol at liberty. He staid not long at Moncallier, whither he had retired, and he abandoned to the Dauphin all Piedmont, which returned under the king's dominion, who was arrived in person in his army.

The whole marquissate of Saluces was retaken, which had been occupied by du Gualt. The king gave it to Gabriel, bishop of Aix, brother of the last marquis, and the only person remaining of the family. He enjoyed it the rest of his life, and dying in the following reign, it was reannexed to the crown. The marquis du Gualt, shut up again in Ast, and having no means of resisting so great a power, thought the Milanese lost, when he perceived Piedmont, which was its rampart, out of his hand. But Francis, allowing himself to be flattered with the hopes of peace, consented to a truce for three months, like that which had been made for Picardy, on condition that each party should keep what

he possessed. The armies retired on both sides.

Montéjan was made governor of Piedmont, and Langei, who, after his return from Germany, had been very serviceable in this war, got the government of Turin. A short time after the king, who saw nothing above the services of the grand master, raised him to the summit of preferments, by giving him the office of constable, which he had so long left vacant. Annebaut was made a marshal of France in his place, and Montéjan had the staff of the marshal de la Marck, who had died a short time before.

This great general had received at court, on his return from the siege of Péronne, all the applause which the importance of his services merited. He got accounts of the death of Robert de la Marck his father; and as he was going to take possession of his principality of Sedan and his other territories, he himself died at the time that he might have expected the greatest rewards.

Much about the same time, the chancellor Anne du Bourg being at Laon, the croud of people made him fall from his mule. The bruises which he received on that occasion, were the cause of his death. President Poyet was put in his place. The truce which had been made till the end of February 1537, was prolonged for six months. Mean-time the pope thought this a favourable opportunity for beginning the council, which he was  
extremely



extremely desirous of holding. He thought, that, by bringing the two princes to one place, he might get them to concur in so important a work, and that perhaps he might devise a method of reconciling them altogether; he sent a message to both, that he was extremely desirous of seeing them together.

It was an easy matter to induce Francis, who loved to make an appearance, and who thought always to gain every body by his noble and sincere behaviour. The emperor took greater intreaty, but at bottom was very glad of an opportunity of amusing Francis. The meeting was at Nice in the beginning of June 1537.

The two princes did not see each other, and it is not well known for what reason the emperor never inclined to that interview. He was probably afraid of being pressed concerning the Milanese in presence of so considerable a third party: so the pope was the speaker on both sides; but as those conferences were but grimace, he did not long act so poor a part.

He negotiated the marriage of two sons of a bastard son whom he had had before he was pope. By the one, he matched with the royal family of France, and that, though resolved, was never accomplished. By the other, he got for his grandson a natural daughter of Charles V. Moreover, not being able to conclude a peace, he mediated a truce for ten years between the two princes,

during which he hoped not only to hold, but to finish the council.

As they were just about to separate, the emperor sent a private message to the king, that they needed not so great an assembly for terminating their affairs, and that he would see him at Aiguemorte in his return to Spain. The king agreed, the emperor came thither, no business was spoken of. Francis went without precaution on board the ships of the emperor, who on his side passed a night in Francis's lodging. Their entertainments were magnificent, their demonstrations of friendship were surprising. Francis, full of the expectation of making a good peace, though no article of it had been agreed, promised the emperor to undertake nothing contrary to his interests. He wanted no more; he set out immediately after, and in order to deceive all Europe, he filled it with the accounts of the perfect good understanding between himself and the king. He had very carefully prepared that interview by the mediation of Queen Eleonora, in the necessity he was under of keeping fair with the king.

The inhabitants of Ghent, who were always seditious, had begun to rise in the year 1536, that they might not pay their share of a tax laid on the country. The consent of all orders of men in the Low Countries could never bring them to yield, and the emperor, who foresaw that should he distress them, as he had resolved, they would be supported by  
France,

France, omitted nothing to be secured on that side. The rest of this year passed in peace and quiet, and there was nothing remarkable but a dangerous distemper with which the king was seized. Under the name of an imposthume a more troublesome disease was endeavoured to be concealed; but princes have it not in their power to keep secret what regards their own persons.

The marshal de Montéjan being dead, Langei succeeded him in the government of Piedmont, whither the marshal d'Annebaut was sent to command the army. At that time was published the ordinance for making in the French tongue the public deeds, which till that period were made in Latin. The king was at Compiègne when he recovered of his illness. Mary queen of Hungary, the emperor's sister, and governess of the Low Countries, came and waited upon him. He returned her visit. Queen Eleonora, from her good inclinations for peace, brought about those visits, and the two queens endeavoured to keep the king in a good disposition toward their brother.

A short time after, the rebellion of the inhabitants of Ghent broke out. They offered to submit to the king, who, so far from receiving them, caused the emperor to be warned of their intentions. Charles, being afraid of too much exposing his own authority, by intrusting their punishment to his lieutenants, wanted to go against them in



person ; but he was not secure enough of the English to go by sea, nor of the Protestants to go through Germany ; so, in the perceptible good disposition of the king, he demanded of him a passage through France. He promised whatever the king pleased, and he bound himself, among other things, both by word of mouth and by letters, to give the duchy of Milan to the duke of Orleans.

Upon that promise, the king, not satisfied with giving him what he demanded, prepared for him extraordinary honours, and sent his sons to meet him as far as Bayonne. The constable followed them, and coming up to get the emperor to sign the grant of the Milanese, that prince, without showing too much reluctance, only said, that it was neither honourable for him, nor secure for the king, to cause him to sign a favour, which might appear forced in his present necessity of passing through France. The constable, deceived with the fine things which he promised, when he should be at liberty, consented to what he wanted, and the emperor made his entry into Bayonne, in the month of December 1538.

The king waited for him at Chatelleraud with all the court, which was never more brilliant ; and indeed nobody behaved more genteelly or more politely than the emperor. He had the dexterity to accommodate himself in a moment to the manners and fashions of all with whom he had any business ;  
but,

but, on so pressing an occasion, he more than ever showed his address, and that he might lose no advantage, from the very first days of his being with the king, amidst their perpetual conversations about peace, and about the schemes which they were projecting against the Turk, he proposed to him to send an ambassador to Venice, to divert the republic from the peace which it was meditating with the Turk, by promising it the protection of the two sovereigns.

That prince hated the Venetians, who were his enemies from inclination, and his allies only from force; so he was very glad to engage them, under an expectation of succour, in a war destructive of their commonwealth. He hoped, by the same means, to break the alliance between the king and the Grand Seignior, and entirely to alienate from him the king of England, when he should perceive him so closely connected with the emperor. Such were his secret intentions; but he laid before the king the glory that might redound to him, by hindering Venice from making a treaty with the Turk, to the detriment of Christendom, as she was going to do; and extolling the friendship which subsisted between them, he reckoned nothing more becoming, than to make it evident to the whole earth by such a fine embassy.

The king, being sensible of the impressions of glory and friendship, fell into that snare.

He

He named Marshal d'Annebaut as ambassador. The emperor named the marquis du Guast; and as they were both in Italy, they met, in order to go both together to Venice. The first effect of that embassy, was agreeable to the emperor's project. It completely indisposed the king of England, who was already very much provoked against Francis: but the senate of Venice gave little credit to the promises of the two princes, and to the talk of their reciprocal friendship, they wanted to see the effects of it; they asked the ambassadors, whether the emperor had resolved to give away Milan. As they could give no positive answer, the senate hastened to make peace with Soliman, by abandoning to him what places the republic still had in the Peloponnesus.

Whilst the emperor was in France, a powerful cabal formed at court, was endeavouring to persuade the king, that he ought not to suffer that prince to depart till he were secured of the Milanese. They commended the honesty upon which he valued himself; but they represented to him, that it was not just that he should be the single person in keeping his word; and that he ought likewise to oblige the emperor to be faithful. The duchess d'Étampes, who was the king's mistress, spoke to him still more strongly, and ceased not to upbraid him, that he should be the jest of the world, if he were imposed upon by promises, when it was so easy for him to secure performance.

She



She was overjoyed at having a pretext for distressing the constable, whom she hated; but Charles was not long without penetrating into her plots. He had about him some French gentlemen, who had belonged to the duke de Bourbon; they contracted strict intimacies with the courtiers, and discovered the duchess's designs to the emperor. That prince made it his business to gain her. One day as she was presenting a napkin to the two princes, the emperor let drop from his finger, as if it had been inadvertently, one of his finest diamonds; the duchess lifting it, presented it to him immediately, but he would not receive it; being pressed by the duchess, he excused himself, upon an inviolable law of the empire, which enacts, that whatever falls out of the emperor's hand belonged to the person who lifted it. At last, he so strongly asserted that ingeniously-invented law, that the king himself obliged the duchess to keep the ring. From that time, being softened, not so much by the present, as by the genteel behaviour of the emperor, she always favoured him. The court came to Paris the 1st of January 1540.

The emperor was received and entertained for seven days with extraordinary magnificence. He went to Chantilli, where the constable earnestly wished to regale him. He never shewed any impatience to get out of the king's hands, persuaded that nothing secured him so much as the assurance that he affected.

fectcd. The king convoyed him as far as St Quentin, and sent his two sons as far as Valenciennes. There it was that he began to speak of Milan. He contrived a thousand methods of elusion. Sometimes he must wait for the king of the Romans to give complete authority to the grant, sometimes he intended to erect the Low Countries into a kingdom, in favour of the duke of Orleans, his intended son-in-law. At last, he told plainly that he was bound to nothing, and nevertheless left not the king's envoys without some hopes.

But the sequel showed, that he was not deceived in promising to himself so great an effect of his presence in Flanders. He was no sooner arrived there, than the citizens of Ghent sued to him for pardon. They paid what he ordered, they admitted of a citadel, they were deprived of their privileges, and they retained no more of them than the emperor was pleased of his bounty to leave to them. The king of the Romans came to Flanders to meet with the emperor, and quickly returned to Austria. As for the king, it cannot be expressed, neither how much he was provoked against the emperor, who had so visibly abused his too easy credulity, nor how much he was inwardly ashamed at having allowed himself to be deceived. He not only blamed the constable, who had advised him, but he was even out of conceit with all his ministers and favourites. He recalled to  
memory

memory all their past faults; but the first who felt the effects of his displeasure, was the admiral.

It is not known whether he begun, by that step, to humble the constable, with whom he was connected, or whether he was any way jealous of the admiral's being in love with the Duchess d'Etampes his near kinswoman; or if it was, that he had always entertained a grudge for the small success of the affairs of Piedmont under his command, though he was not to blame. However this be, he resolved to have him tried; he discovered his mind to the chancellor, who furnished him with expedients for bringing on his trial. It was taken from the cognizance of the parliament of Paris, the natural judicatory of the officers of the crown. The chancellor was made president of the commissioners. The admiral boldly threw the blame of the delay of the affairs of Piedmont on the king himself. He was accused of malversations in his office; and, in fact, the greatest crime with which he was charged, was his having somewhat too much extended his rights as admiral. This and other like crimes brought about his condemnation to pay a fine which ruined him, and the loss of his governments and his employment.

The duchess's friendship only availed to get his trial revised two years afterward. He was acquitted, and restored to his employments; but he did not live long enough to see



see in the same year the chancellor his enemy convicted of enormous malversations, for which he was deprived of his place, which every body reckoned a just punishment for the iniquity with which he had treated the admiral. The constable remained still some time in public business; but he had only an appearance of trust, and the chancellor had the principal power, more from his own dexterity than from the inclination of Francis.

The emperor passed in the Low Countries the rest of the year 1540, going from country to country, and from town to town, and confirming the people in their obedience. In the beginning of the following year, he returned by Metz into Germany, in order to hold the diet which he had convoked at Ratisbon. There, amidst his dread of Francis, so justly provoked, and of the Turk, who, having entered Hungary, was threatening Austria, he did not find himself in a condition to force the Protestants to submit to the church, as he had given the pope reason to expect. He granted them liberty of conscience, till the council should give its sentence, which he promised to procure in two years. The troubles of Christendom had not allowed Paul III. to open the council as he wished. The Protestants only wanted time to gather strength; so, upon that offer of the emperor, not only did they bind themselves not to take arms without his orders; but they emulously con-

curred

curred with the Roman Catholics in giving him all the assistance he desired.

Affairs in Hungary were not a bit the more prosperous; Ferdinand's army was beat near Buda by the Bashaw Mahomet; Soliman surpris'd and took Buda; he banished into Transilvania, the young king, son of John Sepus, and made himself master of all the country which he possessed, notwithstanding all Ferdinand's efforts to recover it. The emperor got all these accounts in Italy, whither he had gone immediately after the diet of Ratisbon, at a time when it was thought he was about to march against Soliman. This made all Europe say, that he was flying from him. He thought he would show that he was not afraid of him, by resolving to attack Algiers in person. The public, and even his own friends, would rather have chosen, that he should have gone where the greatest necessity was, and where Soliman was with all the Ottoman army.

Before he put to sea, he had an interview at Lucca with the pope; but it was to as little purpose as the preceding. The season was advanced, and Doria represented to him, that sailing was becoming very dangerous, for the month of October was now well nigh gone. The pope used his utmost endeavours to divert him from his expedition, but in vain. When ready to sail, he received an embassy and complaints from Francis, concerning

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cerning an outrage at which all Europe was in commotion.

While Charles was in France, and was every where boasting of his strict correspondence with the king, it was chiefly at Constantinople that he caused that connection to be published. Soliman had turned jealous of it; but when he got information of the embassy of Du Guast and of Annebaut at Venice, he fell into such a passion, that he had like to have ordered Rincon our ambassador to be beheaded. He was a disgraced Spaniard, who in an ill humour had engaged with France, a man, active, dexterous, and capable of managing the most delicate negotiations. He acquainted Soliman with Charles's politics, and, having with difficulty extricated himself from so great a danger, he returned to France to get new instructions.

The king immediately sent him back to negotiate with the Porte, and at the same sent Cæsar Fregosa to Venice. As the affairs with which these two ambassadors were intrusted were connected, they had orders to set out together, and Rincon was to go by the way of Venice. On their arrival in Piedmont, whence they were to continue their journey along the Po, Langei, who had informations from all quarters, assured them, that there were spies on them in their passage; and that their destruction was inevitable, unless they took another road, which he pointed out to them. He had got intelligence,



gence, that the marquis du Guast had hired men to assassinate them, and take from them their instructions. By this means he interrupted a negotiation, dreaded by the council of Spain, and discovered secrets which might animate all Germany against France.

Though Langei's intelligence was exact and circumstantial, the poor ambassadors neglected it. They fell into the ambuscades prepared for them; but those who killed them, in vain searched for their papers. Langei had hindered them from carrying them along, and was to convey them to Venice. This assassination was committed about the 3d of July 1541; but it required time to bring a proof of the crime, amidst all the artifices of the marquis du Guast. Langei, however, accomplished it; he made appear both who were the assassins, and whom the marquis du Guast employed to hire them, and where he had confined them after the murder, for fear they might divulge it. He brought them out of the prisons in which they were shut up; he laid open the whole series of the crime, and that the trial might not be suspicious, he got it made at Placentia, which was a neutral town.

When the proof was so complete, that there was no further reply or objection, the king caused copies of it to be sent to all the foreign courts, and had justice demanded of the emperor in presence of the pope. He got off by some general promises, and embarked on his expedition to Algiers. The king, being

resolved to push the matter by every method, made his complaint to the states of the empire. The emperor's ministers had already prepossessed them, by publishing false instructions of the ambassadors, filled with strange proposals against Christendom. So gross an invention deceived the Germans.

Olivier, a man of merit, in vain pressed for a sight of the originals; and he likewise asked, how it could happen, that the Spaniards, who said they were innocent of the murder, should have possession of the ambassadors papers. He was forced to return to France, without obtaining any satisfaction. The marquis du Guast published an apology, offering a single combat, after the ancient custom. Langei made an answer, in which he accepted the challenge. The one exaggerated the unworthiness of a Most Christian king, to join the Turks against Christendom. The other represented how unbecoming it was for an emperor to pretend to piety, and yet be guilty of assassinating ambassadors. He remarked, that the emperor intended the humiliation of the Turk, only as he wanted that of all the princes in the world, and especially those of Germany. These were the objections on either side; but what was more commonly said, was, that interest and ambition occasion strange commotions in the councils of princes.

The king reckoned the truce broken, by the assassination of his ambassadors, and by the refusal of justice; so he resolved upon war.

war. The opportunity was favourable. The emperor was returning from Algiers, which he had in vain besieged. Tossed about by a storm, in which he lost more than an hundred vessels, he only brought back the half of his army to Spain. Francis raised a powerful armament, and laid the plan of the operations with the chancellor Poyet, who was a man of universal knowledge; but this did not hinder him from being disgraced, as we have already said. The king had begun to be out of conceit with that minister, on account of the insurrections which the gabelle \*, imposed or doubled by his counsel in Guienne and Saintonge, had occasioned in those provinces; but the Duchess d'Etampes completed his ruin, for having refused, though on good grounds, a favour to a man under her protection, and having afterward granted it by the king's express order, not without some complaint on the interest of the ladies. He was accused of being arrogant and insupportable.

The matter was pushed so far, that he was ordered to be indicted, and his trial was very tedious. He did not support in his adversity that steady resolution, which he had shown in his prosperity. The seals were given to Francis de Montholon, an advocate of high fame and uncommon probity.

[\* Properly the excise or duty on salt, which at present makes about one fourth of the revenue in France.]



The constable was afterward dismissed from court, in which he had met with continual uneasiness after the emperor's passage. His fall surprised all France, which had seen him for so many years master of every thing, and so much respected, that the parliament in a body, writing to him, called him *Monseigneur* \*. The king repented his having suffered it. It is thought that his attachment to the Dauphin, over whom he had the highest influence, contributed to his disgrace.

The king hardly any longer listened to the counsels of the cardinal de Lorraine, being provoked at his prodigality, which obliged him to be continually asking, and had made him accept of a pension from the emperor on the archbishopric of Toledo. So the whole council was reduced to the cardinal de Tournon and marshal d'Annebaut, both men of mean parts, but both disinterested and well affected to the public weal.

The chancellor's disgrace did not hinder the king from following the plans which he had projected with him. Three strong armies were to attack at the same time, the one Roussillon, the other Piedmont, and the third Luxemburg. A fourth, less than the rest, was to act in conjunction with that of

[\* My Lord, a title of honour used by the French in writing or speaking to dukes, peers, archbishops, bishops, and presidents à mortier. *Monseigneur* absolutely used is a title now restrained to the Dauphin of France; thus it is said, an officer belonging to *Monteigneur*.]

William duke of Cleves and Juliers, whom all the orders of Guelders had acknowledged after the death of Charles d'Egmont, their last duke; but the emperor refused him the investiture; and because he had thrown himself into the arms of France, he had caused him to be put to the ban of the empire, at the last diet of Ratisbon.

The king had engaged to support him, and had made him marry the princess of Navarre. He had some excellent troops raised with French money. The king joined to them some others under the command of Nicolas de Bossu, lord of Longueval; who, after traversing and ravaging Brabant, were to join the army of Luxemburg.

About the middle of June 1542, the armies took the field. In order to teach his two sons the art of war, the king made the Dauphin march with Montpezat into Roussillon, and the duke of Orleans into Luxemburg, with Claude duke of Guise. He followed the army of Roussillon, because the emperor was on that side, and stopped at Montpellier, in the neighbourhood.

The marshal d'Annebaut commanded in Italy, where Langei, though he was weak, and had lost the use of his limbs by his past fatigues, kept up so universal intelligence, and had laid such fine plans, that great advantages were to be expected from them. But Montpezat broke all his measures, and obliged the king to cause the marshal d'Annebaut

nebaut to come along with the Dauphin. Langei represented to him, that he indeed did well in attacking his enemy in several places at once ; but that the design on Roussillon could scarcely succeed, both because the country by its own situation was the strongest of all those of the emperor, and that some of his best troops were in it, which were the Spaniards.

The Low Countries and the Milanese, of themselves more accessible, were besides unprovided, and appeared to him defenceless, if the king had turned all his forces toward that side. He was moved with these arguments ; but Montpezat persecuted him for Roussillon, in which he had some correspondence ; and he prevailed so far, that Annebaut, who remained inactive in Piedmont for two months, had at last orders to rejoin the Dauphin, whom he found at Avignon.

Mean-time the duke of Orleans, having entered Luxemburg, had immediately forced Damvillers, taken Yvoi, the strongest place in that province, made himself master of Arlon in his march, and in a short time reduced Luxemburg and Montmedi, so that the emperor had nothing remaining but Thionville. The army in Guelders had been very near as successful. Martin de Roffen, marshal of Guelders, an experienced general, and Longueval, who commanded the cavalry, had penetrated into Brabant. The prince of Orange had



had attacked them on their march, and had been beat, so that the whole country was put in a panic. René de Chalons, prince of Orange, who had escaped to Antwerp, had difficulty to remove their fears, by throwing in some succours there. Rosen besieged it, and retired soon after, being bribed, as it is said, by money from the merchants of that opulent city. Louvain was redeemed for 50,000 gold écus \*, and the army loaded with booty, came and joined, according to orders, the duke of Orleans in Luxemburg. By that means he had more than 30,000 men; but, toward the end of September 1542, he left that fine army, though it was in a way of making great progress.

His brother the Dauphin held Perpignan besieged with the finest army that had ever till that time gone out of France; for, after the junction of d'Annebaut, he had about 40,000 foot, 2000 horsemen in complete armour, and 2000 light horse. But Ferdinand de Toledo, duke of Alba, had thrown some succours into the place, which was besides well provided in every thing, and especially with a prodigious quantity of artillery, with which all its ramparts were furnished.

By misfortune for the French army, the place was attacked on the strongest side. A false information from the besieged engaged

[\* These being supposed equal to the present écu of six livres, that is, four in a Louis d'or, equal to a guinea, this sum would be nearly 13,125 l. Sterling.]

our generals in that attack; and the troublesome season advancing, the emperor, without giving himself any disturbance, expected from day to day the raising of the siege. A report however was spread, that there would be a battle, and that made the duke of Orleans come post to Montpellier.

Two days after his arrival, accounts were brought that the enemy had retaken Luxemburg, a place then very defenceless, and that the duke de Guise's diligence only had saved Montmedi. The king condemned the inconsiderate ardour of his son, so much the more that he had already resolved upon raising the siege. The rains were begun; and if three days longer had been delayed, there could have been no possibility of avoiding the torrents which came pouring down from the tops of the mountains.

Whilst the armies were in action, Charles duke de Vendome, governor of Picardy, had orders to bring together some garrisons, in order to burn several castles which were troublesome to him. Langei on his side who had scarcely 4000, and to whom disease had only left his speech and his understanding free, nevertheless surprised Quieras, and some neighbouring places, and put a stop to all the progress of du Guast, though he had 15,000 men, of whom he inveigled from him 6000.

The king, vexed to have neglected Piedmont, sent back Annebaut thither. He made

made some attempts, contrary to the opinion of Langei, which did not succeed. This great man, whose counsels were neglected, reckoned himself useless, and intended to return to France; but he died on the way. The poverty of so useful a servant is a stain on the reign of Francis I.

The marshal d'Annebaut made haste to re-pass the mountains, and had like to have been smothered in the snow. He met with the court at Chatelleraud, whence the king went to Rochelle, to appease a riot which had happened there on account of the gabelle, during the siege of Perpignan. He came resolved to make an example of that city, and already a great many of the rioters had been sent to him with a rope about their neck and their hands tied; but on entering the city he was so moved with the tears of all the people, that he could not himself refrain from weeping.

He spoke to them a long time, called them his friends, represented to them the horror of their crime, not like a judge who intends to punish criminals; but like a father who wants to prevent his children from falling into such faults. He commended even the fidelity of their ancestors, and their own, till that unhappy day. He was surprised that they had so far forgot themselves; and granting them their pardon, he could not refrain from representing to them the difference of the treatment which they received from that with  
which



which the rebels of Ghent were used. He ended by saying that he wanted to gain hearts. All the city resounded with acclamations of *Vive le Roi*, "Long live the King." He restored to them their prisoners, the keys of their city, their arms, their privileges, and would that day have about him a guard of their citizens, being secure in the effect which would be produced in their hearts by so uncommon an example of clemency.

Mean-time the Imperialists had retaken all Luxemburg, excepting Yvoi and Montmedi, and Francis saw all the efforts of that campaign to be useless. This made him resume his intention of exciting the Turk against the emperor. After Rincon's death, the negotiation proceeded more slowly, Francis, being resolved to renew it, sent Montluc to Venice, where he might be nearer to carry on the treaty, and at the same time might contrive methods for disengaging the republic from the emperor.

Montluc was a man of quality, who for want of fortune becoming a Jacobine monk, had got out of that order by the interest of the queen of Navarre. She conceived an opinion of his wit, which was naturally polished and cultivated by the belles lettres; but what had quite spoiled him, was his falling into the novelties of the times by following Calvin's opinions. He had nevertheless accepted the bishopric of Valence, which the queen his patroness had procured for him, as he had a  
lively

lively understanding and full of expedients, he attracted admiration at Rome, whither the king had sent him, and had still better succeeded in England, where he was not obliged to disguise his sentiments.

A man of such penetration was not long at Venice without knowing that he could do nothing there by way of negotiation. He made himself master by intelligence of Maran, a place of importance on the gulf, which the emperor had fortified, to raise the jealousy of the republic. He provided it so well, that Ferdinand's generals besieged it in vain; sometimes he offered it to the Venetians, and sometimes, if he found them backward, he let them perceive that it might easily be delivered up to the Turk.

Matters by these means being in a state of advancing at Constantinople, he advised the king to send thither Paulin, known afterward under the name of the Baron de la Garde, a man of mean birth, but of great capacity, whom Langei had already proposed for that employment. The king soon knew that a better advice could not be given him than to employ such a man. He was at first rejected by Soliman, who upbraided the French with breach of promise; but at last he succeeded in making himself agreeable. Soliman promised to send his fleet in concert with the king, and to form a league between France and the republic. In fact, he sent an ambassador; but before his arrival at Venice, he

was bribed by the Imperialists, and the republic was not engaged. Great preparations for war were making on all sides. The states of Spain had given four millions to the emperor. The king of Portugal, whose daughter had been married to Philip prince of Spain, promised great sums; and the emperor hardly expected any less from the king of England, who had at last combined against the king, after his refusing to imitate his desertion from the holy see, and he had besides been lately provoked by the protection which France gave to the Scots, with whom Henry was at war.

In the beginning of spring, Anthony, become duke of Vendome by the death of Charles his father, reassembled a body of men in order to supply Terouenne with provisions. The emperor had taken away the garrisons on that frontier in order to make war on the duke of Gueldres, against whom his generals had just lost a battle. That opportunity seemed favourable to the duke de Vendome for making some attempt: but the king, who himself was preparing to take the field, left him only time to take Lilers, a little place near Bethune. He sent, about the end of May 1543, the marshal d'Annebaut, made afterward admiral of France on the death of the count de Brion, with orders to invest Avenes. The intelligence that he got on his march determined him to attack Landrecy, where the king speedily joined him. The inhabitants, being



being in no condition to make a defence, would not however surrender. They chose rather to set fire to the town, in which there was more than a year's provisions, and escaped into the forest of Mormaux. The king caused that place to be fortified, and in the mean time the Dauphin took some towns of Hainault, which he immediately abandoned; he then over-run the country as far as Mons and Valenciennes, and made a great booty.

At the same time the Turkish fleet, composed of 120 galleys, and commanded by Barberossa, was arrived at Marseilles. That of Francis composed of forty vessels, among which were twenty-two galleys, was in the same place, commanded by Francis de Bourbon, duke d'Enguien, the duke de Vendome's brother, a young prince of twenty-two years and very hopeful. On board this fleet were 8000 land-forces, and abundance of provisions to carry on a great siege.

The French, whom Barberossa had orders to please, determined upon that of Nice. It did not hold out long; the governor left it the 20th of August 1543, retired into the castle built upon a rock, which he resolved to defend to the last extremity. The emperor during this time was vigorously prosecuting the war in the duchy of Gueldres. He had left Barcelona a little after the arrival of the Ottoman fleet in France. He had only passed through Italy, where the pope had obliged him to a needless interview; thence he had

come into Germany, where he declared to the princes his intention of making an example of the duke of Gueldres, who had rebelled against the empire.

In fact, he came to Bonne, where he reviewed his army. It consisted of about 40,000 men. Thence, without stopping, he marched and laid siege to Duren, a town belonging to the duke, situated on the Dure, and very well fortified. It did not however hold out long. A battery of forty cannons and the death of its governor determined it to surrender. The emperor entered it the same day that the French entered Nice, and was not able to save it from being burnt. He continued the conquest of the duke's dominions, and left Francis to act in Luxemburg, whilst he was plundering his ally. Luxemburg was besieged on the 17th of September 1543 by the duke of Orleans, who had the admiral for his counsellor. The place surrendered a few days after, though there was a numerous garrison in it of the emperor's best infantry.

The king was obstinately bent upon keeping that place, which most of his principal officers did not think tenible. He arrived there on the 25th of September 1543, and got intelligence that the duchy of Gueldres was quite reduced. Juliers, Ruremonde, Venlo, all Guelderland, all the county of Zutphen, had surrendered without resistance. These two countries had acknowledged the emperor for their sovereign. The duke had saved the  
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rest of his dominions only by renouncing these, and the alliances with France, Sweden, and Denmark.

In order to make that important conquest, which kept the vassals of the empire in awe, which exclaimed against the French as weak allies, and joined to its own provinces two so considerable countries, the emperor abandoned his own countries, but he expected soon to recover them; and in fact having augmented his army with 12,000 men which the king of England sent him, he marched with all his forces to besiege Landrecy.

At the same time Ferrand de Gonzague, his lieutenant-general, besieged Guise; but on the king's marching to succour Landrecy, he retired, and the lord of Brissac defeated a party of his men in his retreat. The emperor, who had staid behind sick at Quesnoy, could not arrive in the camp before the month of October 1543. The place was battered with forty-eight pieces of cannon; but though there was a breach in it, it was very unsafe to attempt the assault against La Lande, an experienced and resolute governor, with a good garrison. When his provisions began to fail, he persuaded the soldiers to be satisfied with water, and half a loaf a-day: so he gave the king time to come to his assistance.

That prince was at Chateau-Cambresis, near the place besieged, and the duke d'Enguien came thither to him, as believing that the



affair of Landrecy might bring on a battle. The approach of winter with that of Andrew Doria, with the want of provisions, had obliged him to raise the siege of the castle of Nice. Barberossa, provoked that it had lasted so long, brutally upbraided the French with their cowardice, and the prince with his youth. A short time after the admiral successfully attempted to succour Landrecy.

The enemy's quarters were separated by the Sambre; so various attacks made at the same time, opened to the admiral an entry into the place; he renewed its garrison, and Martin de Bellei, Langei's brother, threw in provisions into it. The king perceiving it in safety, retired toward Guise, with the Dauphin, on the 2d of November 1543. The emperor a few days after raised the siege. The officers of the old garrison were suitably rewarded, and the soldiers were ennobled for life.

The emperor went to Cambray, where he was received by the bishop, of the family of Croi, his own creature; and in order to secure that place, which was not of the domain of the Low Countries, he caused a citadel to be built there, which has been down to our days the terror of Picardy. Boutiere, to whom the duke d'Enguien had left the command in Piedmont, did not succeed there. Mondeviis was taken from him, by capitulation; but du Guast, without regarding the treaty, abused the Swiss who had made a  
good

good defence. He made himself master of Carignan, whilst Boutiere was dismantling it, and repaired its fortifications.

The army in Italy had got a succour of ten or twelve thousand men, French, Swiss, and Gruyers, a people of the county of Gruyers, subjects of the Grisons. The king, perceiving that Boutiere was not exactly obeyed, sent back the Duke d'Enguien. That prince found Boutiere before Ivrea, which he abandoned on his coming, not being willing to leave him the glory of the capture.

Barberossa passed the winter in Provence, and set out thence in the spring, after leaving some tokens of his barbarity. In the beginning of the spring, the duke being resolved to blockade Carignan, seized, for that purpose, all the posts in the neighbourhood, and caused forts to be built where necessary, and came himself and incamped at Carmagnole. The marquis du Guast was preparing to relieve a place which gave Montferrat to the French. On receiving intelligence of his march, the duke demanded of the king permission to fight him, and easily obtained it. All the young nobility flocked about him; all of them willingly gave the prince their money to satisfy his infantry, and the king sent some from Anet by du Bellei, who arrived in the camp on Good Friday.

As the sum which he brought was not sufficient for a month's pay to the foreigners, address was necessarily to be used. The payment

ment was begun, and it was pretended it could not be finished by reason of the sudden arrival of the marquis, who was known to be near. In fact, on the 10th of April 1544, which was Easter-day, he was at a small distance; and that same day, the duke marching to meet him, was informed that he was at Cerisoles; and advancing upon an eminence, he soon left it, because he wanted provisions and carriages to bring him any; so, as he was getting to his camp at Carmagnole, du Guesst, who thought he was flying, and who was sensible of his being strongest, (for he had 10,000 men of superiority), passed the Po on a bridge, in order to follow him.

His army marched in one line; but divided into three battalions, which had each its wing of cavalry. The right wing consisted of 6000 veterans, Germans and Spaniards, with their squadron of 800 horse. The prince of Salerno commanded the left wing, of 10,000 Italians and 800 Florentine horse. The centre was composed of 10,000 Germans, and 800 horse from the same country.

The duke drew up his army in the same form. Opposite to the Italians, and the prince of Salerno, he placed a body of 3000 French veterans, who had on their right 600 light horse, and on their left eighty horsemen in complete armour. He opposed to the Spaniards 4000 Gruyers and Italians, supported



ported by the guidons and archers\* of the household troops. The centre was made up of 3000 Swiss, along with whom the duke was to fight with the young nobility. Bouterie, having soon returned on the report of the battle, led the vanguard, and Terme commanded the light horse. There were detached, under the command of Capt. Montluc, seven or eight hundred musketeers, Italian and French, who were set in the front of the divisions, like a forlorn-hope. Caillac marched before the Swiss with eight field-pieces. Mailli had as many before the Gruyers, and du Bellei had orders to go every where, and march up the troops, according to the motions of the enemy. The description that he gives of this battle, is a great ornament to the history written by him of Francis I.

As the duke saw the marquis passed, he thought, that, by falling back any more, he might seem to be flying, and might throw the troops into a panic; so he turned about and endeavoured to get back to the eminence, which he had left; but the marquis prevented him; and the duke, nevertheless, marched up to him, after so disposing his troops, that they could not be hurt by the enemy's artillery. These movements were made on the night between Easter Sunday and Monday, and it was just day break, when the armies

[\* These seem to have been marksmen and archers.]

were in that condition. Three hours were passed on either side, in endeavours to gain the flank of the enemy, and all that time was spent in skirmishing. At last, between eleven and twelve, the enemy, who perceived themselves the stronger party, resolved to begin the attack. Then the lord de Taïs, who commanded the French veterans, turned about to charge the prince of Salerno's Italians.

That prince was not moving, and was still at a considerable distance; for he was waiting for orders from du Guast, as he had directed him. Bellei, who saw he was not stirring, and who perceived, at the same time, the great body of 10,000 German foot falling upon our Swiss, who were but 4000, ordered Taïs to join them. The duke, who was to support the Swiss, run to the Gruyers, who seemed terrified. But Terme briskly charged the Florentine cavalry, which was taking the French in flank, and made it fall foul on the prince de Salerno. In pursuing them he was so far engaged in the battalion, that his horse being killed under him, he was taken prisoner. By that means the prince being intangled with the Florentine cavalry, and with our men, who were falling upon him, remained inactive.

Our Swiss, joined by the French, fell upon the Germans without interruption. They immediately opened their ranks, and brought forward from their depth to make their front equal to the Germans, who intended to surround

round them. Whilst both were fighting obstinately, Boutiere so opportunely and so vigorously attacked with his eighty horsemen in armour, that the Germans gave way; so that the marquis, who was looking at the battle from an eminence, wanted to see no more of it, and retired without even sending his orders to the prince of Salerno, who was waiting for them. Our archers, who were commanded by Dampierre, likewise broke the cavalry opposed to them; but our Gruyers and Italians could not endure the shock of the Spaniards, and betook themselves to flight. The Spaniards and Germans, who were fighting with them, pursued them so close, that not one of them had escaped, had not the duke at the same time broke through the corner of the Spanish battalion; but when he returned to rally his men, he saw his Gruyers put to flight.

He had no accounts of the Swiss, nor of the French, who were hid by a hill, and he saw the victorious Spaniards falling upon him to the number of 4000, to oppose whom he had none but 100 horse along with him. He, however, charged sometimes on one side, sometimes on another, like one resolved to die, when he saw the Spaniards, on the accounts of the defeat of their countrymen, all at once betake themselves to flight. They were pursued into the woods and villages, whither they were endeavouring to escape, and were almost all killed or taken.

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The prince was inconsiderately galloping after them, following the example of St André, who was riding before him; and being warned to avoid the fate of Gaston de Foix at Ravenna, he answered, that they should then stop St André, if they wanted to stop him. There was a horrible slaughter at this battle. The Swiss remembered the usage they had met with at Mondeviſ, and gave no quarter; ſo there were reckoned on the enemy's ſide twelve or fifteen thouſand killed, beſides that they loſt more than 3000 priſoners, fifteen pieces of cannon, all their arms and baggage, and we loſt there no more than 200 men.

The marquis du Guaſt, being full of confidence, had ordered in his march the inhabitants of Aſt to ſhut their gates againſt him, if he did not return victorious. He was more punctually obeyed than he wiſhed; all the country was in a panic. Carignan, however, held out ſtill a month longer, and all Montferrat ſubmitted, except Caſal. There was no place in the Milanefe, but Milan and Cremona, able to make a defence. The count de Petigliano, Peter Stroſſi and other Italians, who were in the French intereſt, immediately after the battle, threw themſelves into the Cremonefe with 10,000 men, where they every day expected the duke; but they retired thence with great loſs, the king having ordered his army to ſtop, upon the intelligence that he had from the Rhine.

The emperor had appeared there with a stronger army than ever. The states of the empire had contributed to it, and had refused any audience to Francis's ambassadors. The count de Bure with 14,000 men was waiting in the Low Countries for the king of England, who was coming to Calais with all his forces. The two princes were to march at the same toward Paris, without stopping, in order to divide the kingdom between them, according to the treaty which they had made for that purpose. On the news of the battle of Cerisoles, the emperor thought the Milanese in great danger, and hesitated some time, whether he should go to its assistance, not being willing to expose so fine a province to certain loss, for some hazardous conquests, which he was attempting in France.

When he perceived that our victorious army was first so long amused at the siege of Carignan, and then stopped short, he continued his march, and besieged Luxemburg. That place made not the resistance which the king expected: for he imagined that siege might give him time to assemble his troops; and had the emperor marched straight to Paris, as he had projected, there was nothing in readiness to oppose him; but the facility with which he had carried on that first siege, engaged him to undertake others. He took Commerci and Ligni, and on the 8th of July he laid siege to St Dizier, an ill-fortified

place, where he did not expect to be so long detained.

Upon this intelligence, the king caused five or six thousand men to be thrown into Chalons; and his army being already reassembled, he sent the dauphin with 40,000 men, 2000 horsemen in armour, and 2000 light horse. The emperor was stronger by near one half; but he was losing time and some troops at the siege of St Dizier, where the count de Sancerre was making a surprising defence, together with La Lande, who had before defended Landrecy. He was likewise very much disturbed by Francis de Lorraine, count d'Aumale, eldest son of the duke of Guise, who was making continual incursions in the neighbourhood of Stenay, a town on the Meuse, of which he was governor. The dauphin's army was assembled, and had taken post between Epernay and Chalons, along the Marne, both to cut off the emperor's provisions, and to prevent him from proceeding farther. He had with him the admiral as a counsellor.

Mean-while, the king of England had besieged Boulogne in person, and Montreuil by the earl of Norfolk. He had neglected to march to Paris, as well as the emperor; and was intent upon Picardy, which he had found defenceless. The emperor in vain solicited him to follow their first plan. He would not quit the sieges which he began, nor the emperor that of St Dizier. Thus, by a surprising



sing chance, Paris and the interior part of France were saved by the too great facility which the enemy found in the unprovided frontiers.

The emperor began to dread the same fate as in Provence, and caused, at all events, proposals of peace to be made by a Jacobin of his retinue, of the family of Guzman, who gave some hint of it to the king's confessor. He, nevertheless, vigorously carried on the siege of St Dizier; the breach was practicable, and two towers had been destroyed; but their ruins had made so great a heap of stones before the breach, that there was no entering, but by scaling. In order to facilitate the attack, the emperor wanted to raise a cavalier\*, to see over. Immediately the besieged made one like it. La Lande was killed by a cannon-ball, to the great grief of Sancerre; and the emperor had to regret René de Chalons, prince of Orange, who was killed by a splinter of a stone.

The Spaniards, provoked at so long a resistance, attempted the assault by themselves. They were followed by the Italians. The emperor had them speedily supported by the Germans. The attack continued a whole day, and was fatal to the besiegers. Brissac succeeded no better, when he intended to

[\* In fortification, an elevation of earth, whose summit composes a platform, on which are raised batteries of cannon, to clear the field, or to destroy some work of the enemy.]

bring some powder and succours into the place.

Mean-time, the affair grew tedious, and the emperor was reduced to begin some new works. Sancerre was thinking of nothing but continuing his defence, when he received a letter, under the name of the duke of Guise, pretendedly informing him, that the king was satisfied with his defence; and that, in his present extremity for want of provisions and ammunition, it was time to make an honourable capitulation. This letter had been written by the enemy, who had intercepted a packet, in which was a key to the cipher.

The count, persuaded that the letter was genuine, consented to capitulate; but he wanted to have twelve days, in order to know the king's intentions by express. The emperor agreed to his demand, so much did he dread the prolongation of the siege, and the king of England's making use of that pretext for quite abandoning the first plan. Thus a weak and inconsiderable place stopped near two months, in the finest season of the year, the most powerful emperor from Charlemagne downward.

The king, having consented to the capitulation, wrote at the same time to the dauphin to shut up the Imperial army as close as he could, but not to venture a battle. The dauphin made use of that opportunity to ask the constable, whom the king refused to him  
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with indignation. As the emperor did not expect to be joined by the king of England, he caused the proposals of peace to be hasted, without seeming to be concerned about them. They proceeded so far, that commissioners were named on either side; and, in the mean time, the emperor, who began to be in want of provisions, advanced very slowly; but an ill-executed order laid open to him a country, which had not then been foraged. An officer whom the dauphin had commanded to break the bridge of Epernay, suffered it to be surprised. It was thought that there was bribery in the case; and that the emperor, being secretly warned of the scheme, prevented its execution.

His troops, being refreshed and encouraged, marched on as far as Chateau-Thierry, and Paris was alarmed, though the king might have removed its fears by his presence. The dauphin, after sending some men thither, put himself in the emperor's way, who, dreading to be intangled and to fall back into his former scarcity, turned toward Soissons. A jealousy having arisen in his army, and the Germans, provoked at receiving their provisions by the hands of the Spaniards, were ready several times to decide their quarrel by the sword.

At the same time, the commissioners agreed on the conditions of peace. The emperor was in two years to give the duke of Orleans, either his daughter with the Low



Countries, the county of Burgundy and Charolois, or his niece, daughter of the king of the Romans, with the Milanese. He reserved the castles of Milan and Cremona till there should be a male of that marriage; and on delivery of those places to the duke of Orleans, the duke of Savoy was to be re-established in Piedmont. Moreover, the places were restored on either side, and the king renounced Naples. It cannot be imagined with what impatience the dauphin suffered these proposals. He complained, that nothing was minded but the duke of Orleans, to whose advantages the interests of the state were sacrificed, and could not digest the surrender of sixteen places of importance to the emperor and to his friends, in Italy and the Low Countries, for three or four little places which he could not keep.

This affair was agitated with much partiality. Two cabals for some time divided the court. The one was for the dauphin, and the other favoured the duke of Orleans. The latter was the stronger, because headed by the duchess d'Etampes, from the dread that she had of Diana de Poitiers, her enemy, who was passionately beloved by the dauphin. She endeavoured to find a support in his younger brother, who was very zealous for such as embraced his interest. So she omitted nothing to make this war turn to his advantage. She kept a secret correspondence with the emperor, and it was reckoned certain,

tain, that she informed him of every thing that passed in council. She supported the peace with all her interest with the king, who easily suffered himself to agree to it, from the bad accounts daily brought him from Picardy.

Vervin, governor of Boulogne, wanted courage, and basely surrendered, when he was about to be succoured by the dauphin. This prince upbraided him with surrendering out of complaisance to the duke of Orleans. The marshal de Biez, Vervin's father-in-law, stoutly defended Montreuil; but he began to be in want of every thing. The peace was signed at Crespi in Laonnois. The Low-Country troops, that were with the English, retired, and on the dauphin's approach to Montreuil, Norfolk was obliged to raise the siege. The king of England returned home, and the emperor left the kingdom, attended by the duke of Orleans.

The Dauphin, after making a fruitless attempt on Boulogne, forced away by rains and bad weather, returned to court, where toward the end of the year, perhaps by consent of the king his father, he entered a solemn protest against the peace, in presence of the princes of the blood, and of some other lords. He had left the troops under the command of the marshal de Biez, who wanted to seize a post a quarter of a league from Boulogne, which commanded the harbour of that place. A battle was fought there, in which the loss

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was equal, but the marshal was obliged to retire.

The king made it his business to disappoint the efforts of the king of England, and in order to create him trouble in his own island, he supported the interest of the young queen of Scotland, daughter of the king lately deceased. He resolved also to equip a strong fleet for landing in England, and sent the baron de la Garde, called formerly Captain Paulin, to bring to Havre-de-Grace, through the streights of Gibraltar, the galleys which were at Marseilles. He was preparing at the same time a strong land-army, in order to make near to Boulogne the works which the marshal de Biez had attempted in vain, and he reckoned that work might be finished in the month of August 1545, after which he was to march in person and lay siege to Guines, the taking of which would starve Boulogne.

At that time was at last ended, after a tedious process, the trial of Chancellor Poyet, who, by a decree of the 23d of April 1545, was fined in 100,000 livres, and condemned to be kept five years in prison where the king pleased: he was besides declared incapable of any office under the king, for having been guilty of misdemeanors in his employment, and receiving bribes. His judges were chosen out of all the parliaments in the kingdom, to whom he was odious for his intentions of extending the authority of the king's council. His sentence was pronounced publicly in open court,



court. He was put in the tower of Bourges, whence he was liberated only upon giving up all his estate, and was reduced to resume in the Palais his former profession of an advocate. Francis Olivier was put in his place.

The marshal de Biez set out with his army to set about the building of his fort. The king went to Havre-de-Grace, where he expected his galleys. It was a fine sight to see them coming to the number of twenty-five. They were large and well equipped. After so long a navigation, the fleet was found, exclusive of the galleys, to consist of 150 large ships fitted out with men, provision, and artillery; which makes us admire the oeconomy of Francis I. who, amidst so many other expenses occasioned by his long wars, furnished him still with means for raising and keeping so considerable a fleet.

It is in fact observed, that, in his last years, he so regulated his finances, that they were sufficient for fortifying a vast number of places, for maintaining strong fleets and armies, and for erecting in several places pompous buildings, and that he nevertheless was more sumptuous and magnificent in his ordinary expense than any of the kings his predecessors. On the 6th of July 1545 he sent off from Havre the admiral with the fleet, and saw burnt before his eyes one of the finest ships on the sea called *the Grand Caracon*, in which an entertainment was by his order preparing for the ladies. The admiral made his descent

descent in three different places in England, where he got some booty, and drove the English out of the isle of Wight; but he durst not pursue them into Portsmouth, though stronger than they, on account of the difficulties in the passage. The English for some time thought that the wind was about to give them some advantage over us; it turned, and instead of attacking us they retired.

The admiral contented himself with crossing the seas, to prevent the enemy from throwing succours into Boulogne. At last, about the middle of August, as he was falling short of provisions, he returned into Normandy without having done any thing but employed the English in their own isle, and showing them that they might be attacked there. He was accused for abandoning the isle of Wight, in which he might have built a fort, and put a strong garrison. It was probably too dangerous. The king received him at Arques, where he was waiting with impatience for accounts of the fort at Boulogne.

The marshal de Biez, deceived by an Italian engineer, had caused it to be built on another place than had been marked out, and so ill executed, that, after six weeks work, the ditches were to be filled up, their circumference being too small. The work, which was begun anew, made no progress; and Francis, who was weary of it, drew near in order to hasten it; and to facilitate it the more, he came to Foret-Montier, an abbacy

bacy between Abbeville and Montreuil, whether the marshal sent him word that in eight days he should see the work finished. Nevertheless those eight days were protracted. Francis was beginning to imagine that the marshal was very well pleased to make the work last, in order the longer to have the command of so fine an army. He sent thither some persons immediately after each other, but to no purpose.

One day the marshal, not to be altogether inactive, made a feint of intending to fight the English, saying that he had got intelligence of their being on their march to attack our camp. At that time, contrary to the opinion of all wise men, he abandoned the works, leaving in the fort only as many as were necessary for its defence: but that intelligence was only an illusion; and the nobility, who flocked thither for the battle, discovered that it was very improbable that the English, who were weaker than we, should think of fighting us.

A distemper broke out at Foret-Montier, and, on the 8th of September 1545, the king lost there the duke of Orleans, at the age of twenty-three. That death was the more afflicting to him, as it renewed to him that of the Dauphin Francis. It was still the more grievous, that it had the appearance of being attended with breaking the treaty with the emperor. The king left Foret-Montier, and wanted



wanted an end to be put, one way or other, to the affair of the fort.

There were at that time continual skirmishes, and a wound was received by the count d'Aumale which was much talked of. He was pierced between the nose and the eye with the head of a spear, which, together with the wood, entered near half a foot into his head, and he lost neither his senses, nor his seat in the saddle. He suffered the piece to be pulled out without so much as knitting his brows, and was successfully cured by that great surgeon Ambrose Paré, who deserved for his skill to be celebrated in all histories of those times. The king at last understood that he was not to expect that his fort could be so soon ready, and saw at the same time the fine season spent; so he thought no more of the expedition against Guines, and satisfied himself with sending the marshal de Biez, to destroy the neighbourhood of Calais, whence the provisions were brought to Boulogne. The English lost there a great many men in various rencounters. But that was a poor consolation, and the king had reason to regret his not being able so much as to finish a fort with an army from which he expected the capture of Guines and Boulogne.

When the king was at Folenbrai, he sent, on the 1st of November 1545, Admiral Annebaut and Chancellor Olivier to confirm the treaties with the emperor, who was then at Bruges, making great preparations of war against

against the Protestants of Germany. It was feared that the death of the duke of Orleans might give him an opportunity of retaining the duchy of Milan, promised to that prince. In fact, he answered that he did not think himself obliged to any thing after the death of the person for whom he was bound; and with regard to peace, he only gave assurances that he should not be the aggressor.

That answer let the king know what he had to expect. Nothing appeared to be impossible to the emperor. After making peace with France, his thoughts run entirely on the reduction of the Protestants, by whose ruin he wanted to become absolute master of the empire. The king began to be afraid, that, after the execution of that scheme, he might come and fall upon France with all the united forces of Germany, joined to his own. So he gave orders for the fortifying of Champagne, and was preparing to visit his own provinces in person.

The council, which had been so long delayed, was then opened at Trente, and the first session, though there were few prelates present, was held about the end of December 1545. The French and English were continually at blows, notwithstanding the winter, in the neighbourhood of Calais and Boulogne, and our people almost constantly had the advantage. The marshal de Biez having attacked them, when a convoy was coming to a fort which was extremely necessary for him,

got the victory after an obstinate engagement. A reinforcement of 10,000 foot and 4000 horse, which was coming from Germany to the king of England, was dispersed in the country of Liege for want of money. England was drained of that, as well as of men. Boulogne was in distress; the forts built around it made it difficult to be defended. For these reasons Henry was disposed to peace; and Francis, who was afraid of the emperor, was not averse from it.

The emperor however attempted, though in vain, to prevent it: for the ambassadors of the league of Smalcalde got the two kings to name commissioners, who met between Ardres and Guines, and easily concluded the peace. It was signed in the month of June 1546. The king gave Henry 800,000 gold écus in eight years; after which Boulogne was to be surrendered to France with all the Boulognese, and the fortifications which the English had built there.

Francis employed the rest of the year in visiting the frontiers of his kingdom. He began with Burgundy, in which he fortified several places. He traversed Champagne, where he visited in particular the places on the Meuse, among the rest Sedan, which was secured to him, and ended his progress in Picardy. Mean-time the emperor had held a diet at Ratibon, during which he was assembling his troops on all sides. The pope and the princes of Italy were sending him a powerful succour.



succour. The Protestants were very sensible that those preparations threatened them, and they were divid d among themselves.

Maurice of Saxony, cousin of the elector, John Frederic, and son in-law of the Landgrave of Hesse, the two chiefs of the Protestants, had broke with them, and was making war against his kinsman. The emperor was not very careful to conceal his design of punishing them; and without mentioning religion, he declared his intention to call some rebels to account, and at the same time his resolution to pardon their friends, if they speedily returned to their duty. Thereupon the elector of Saxony and the Landgrave re-assembled their troops, which amounted, in the month of July 1546, to 60,000 foot and 15,000 horse, besides 6000 pioneers, and twenty-six pieces of cannon.

With that formidable army, those two princes promised themselves a certain victory; and the emperor having put them to the ban of the empire, like rebels and traitors, they sent and declared war against him by a trumpet. All Europe was attentive to the event of a war which would render the Protestants victorious, or the emperor absolute master of Germany, and in a condition to attempt any thing. Italy was trembling; and the pope himself, who could not refuse succours against the Protestants, knew not what to wish.

The cardinal de Tournon's counsels pre-

vented the king from intermeddling in that war, though remonstrances were made to him that the liberty of the empire was the cause of quarrel more than religion, against which the emperor had declared he had no design at that time, and though it was of importance to France to keep the affairs of Germany in a kind of suspense.

Two deaths which happened in the space of a year, were very afflicting to Francis. The one was that of the duke d'Enguien, who was struck dead by a trunk heedlessly thrown in a ramping match among the young nobility of the dauphin's court. Not only all France, but all Europe regretted the unhappy death of that young prince, whose great actions and generous behaviour made him equally dear to men of the army, both French and foreigners.

A year after came the news of the death of Henry VIII. of England, who had great qualities; but who has blackened his memory by his amours, to which he sacrificed his religion. He married six wives, of whom five for love; he divorced two of them, two were beheaded for adultery, among the rest the infamous Anne Boleyn, for whom he had overturned his whole kingdom, and the religion of his ancestors. He thought however that he had changed little, because he had touched nothing but the authority of the holy see; without considering that thereby he opened a door for licentiousness, and that it was giving occasion

occasion to every innovation in religion, to despise the see whence it had come twice into his island; besides, he equally persecuted the Roman Catholics and Lutherans. He died on the 28th of January 1547, hated by both. That prince left his son Edward in infancy, and after him he called to the crown, Mary, daughter of Catherine of Arragon, and Elisabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn.

Francis looked upon that death as a warning for him. Those two princes were of the same age, and of a constitution pretty similar. After that piece of news, Francis was observed to be unusually melancholy: and though he declared that his grief for the death of Henry proceeded both from the old friendship between them, and from his intention of entering into a more intimate correspondence with him, in order to oppose in conjunction the vast designs of the emperor; a more interior cause was discovered for his grief.

His health had been bad for a long time, and he felt it declining. He diverted the thoughts of it, as much as possible, by application to business. In a special manner, his mind was very much employed about the prodigious power of Charles, whose enemies were, at that time, making some progress; but the prudence, the good luck, and the numerous forces of Charles, his militia, so well accustomed to hardships, and almost constantly victorious, seemed to promise him a happy success. Francis perceived the consequences



sequences of it, and, in order a little to qualify matters, he gave 200,000 écus to the princes of the confederacy, and promised to receive into France the elector of Saxony's eldest son. He carefully destined the necessary funds for the fortifications of Champagne, and took an exact account of them.

Amidst all this sollicitude, he was suddenly seized with a slow fever, which he thought to carry off by hunting; so he went to La Muette\*, a pleasure house, which he had lately built in the forest of St Germain. He soon wearied there. He went from place to place, always at the chase, in order to dissipate his uneasiness and his fever. The agreeableness of the country about Rambouillet, made him stay longer there than he had resolved. His fever increased there, and became continual. He made no doubt of his approaching end, and regulated the affairs of his conscience like a resolute prince and a good Christian. He conversed with his son upon those of the kingdom, recommending to him the relief of his people, and warning him not to imitate his vices. He died on the last day of March 1547, at the age of fifty-three years, after reigning thirty-three, almost constantly unlucky, but with a mind superior to all his misfortunes.

If there occur in his life vexatious instances of neglect, he was likewise observed to

[\* The name signifies the kennel, or pack of hounds.]

be ready and fruitful in expedients upon pressing occasions, and it required a courage and fortitude like his to prevent Charles V. supported by so many allies, and master of so many kingdoms, from likewise swallowing up France. His death was deplored by the men of letters in all countries; and France, which to this day sees so many tokens of his grandeur and magnificence, will never cease to celebrate his memory.

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